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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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## CAMPAIGN POINTERS

REMEMBER THESE WHEN MAKING UP YOUR MIND.

**Chameleon Candidates and Platforms—America's Proletariat Make Good Investment—The Difference Between More Pay for Bingham and More Pay for a Workingman.**

If Mr. Hearst sincerely objects to "chameleon candidates", what candidates, other than Preston and Munro, can he vote for this November? What candidate is there before the people, outside of the presidential ticket of the Socialist Labor Party, that is not a chameleon candidate standing on a chameleon platform?

Why shouldn't they? Foreign investors are rushing to buy American securities. Why shouldn't they? The semi-feudal conditions of Europe, coupled with traditional customs, deprive the European exploiters of the power to squeeze the proletariat to the extent these are squeezed in America. The European proletarians are truly productive to the European exploiter only when they are in America. There is no proletariat that yields the fleece yielded by the proletariat in America. Why shouldn't European investors rush to buy American securities? Where the carcass is thither fly the vultures.

Police Commissioner Gen. Bingham demands an appropriation of \$16,393.539 for his Department—an increase of \$2,043,939. Of this increase \$7,500 are for himself; he demands that his salary be doubled. If workingmen—that is, the producers of wealth, not the clubbers of the producers of wealth—were to demand more millions for their Department, and a 100 per cent. raise of their wages, as Bingham has done for himself, the worthy Bingham would detail mounted police to trample them under their hoofs as "strikers."

The Paper Trust is getting in its innings. "Pursued", "hounded" and "harrassed" as it claims to have been this twelve months by the Trusts that control the Republican and Democratic news agencies, and which want cheaper paper, the Paper Trust now has its back—good and hard. It is in the political interests of most of the other Trusts to claim that "prosperity is returning to the workers." Calmly and coolly the Paper Trust cuts wages on the ground of "the general depression in business."

Fatality pursues the Republican and Democratic conspirators. Since their conventions adjourned events have been crowding fast to damn Rep-Democraticism and Demo-Repism. Men on strike in Alabama shot by sheriffs; multimillionaires threatening to blow their mothers' heads; failures; bank robberies by bank presidents and their shadows the tramp-burglars, etc., etc.—a chorus that resolves itself into the note of sense:

R. L. P. S. L. P.  
PRESTON AND MUNRO.

"To state the case briefly," says Gompers in his "Federationist," and he then launches into a verbose clouding of the case. Briefly stated, Gompers has dragged the name of Labor through mire in which stick the feet of the plutocracy, and he has caused the Labor that follows him to pick up what crumbs it could at the selfsame feet in the selfsame mire, until finally the day has come when the selfsame feet kicked him in the face, and he is trying to conceal the fact.

"Thaw is still alive, maybe I will be,"—the words of J. A. Van Rensselaer in his letter threatening to blow off his wealthy mother's head if she does not loan him money—should be the motto of a young millionaires' club, with Thaw and Van Rensselaer as charter members.

There were no bank robbers, Pinkertons and other desperados on the juries that acquitted Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, such as were on the drum-corps jury that convicted Preston and Smith. Yet Preston and Smith are declared "justly convicted" and the same capitalist class that so declares, also declares there was a miscarriage of justice in the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone cases.

If Mr. Aaron Mayer had for his purpose to raise a hornet's nest around his head he could have done no better than he did. Imagine a man suggesting to the enormously salaried railroad magnates that the solution of the problem, How to raise funds? is best solved, not by cutting wages or raising rates, but by cutting salaries—cutting them down from \$20,000, and \$25,000, \$50,000, and \$60,000 a year, down to \$10,000 and \$22,000!—Sacrilege!

Every little helps. Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson shivers a lance for Socialism against Creelman's attack, and justifies Socialism by claiming that "Socialism has been tried and succeeded in Glasgow and Germany." True enough, this position is untenable as the well-meaning Colonel's statement in 1889, when he was a Nationalist, that the "Spaniards found Peru a heaven of Nationalism and left it a hell of individualism." Nevertheless, every little helps to knock down the grotesqueness of Creelmanism.

Taft and Bryan are busy at polishing up their acceptance speeches. The same will be so neatly polished as to satisfy the capitalist class that the two candidates are safe and sane on the subject of Prestonism, that is, they will ever consider the Union a criminal conspiracy, and picketing, accordingly, a criminal act.

Poor recentest batch of heirs of property held by the Trinity Church Corporation, who are moving to reacquire possession! The vast holdings of the Trinity Church Corporation on which a cloud of plutocratic parasites live is property withheld from its rightful owners. But these owners have long lost title. The property belongs to the School Fund of the State of New York—and that Fund will never gain possession while capitalism lasts. It is the endeavor of the capitalist class to reduce relatively, even absolutely, if possible, the funds to promote popular enlightenment. Capitalism is straining after an ignorant population—too ignorant to know its right hand from its left.

During the year of the constitutional convention campaign in this State Gompers ran simultaneously and at once on the Republican and the Populist ticket. Having accomplished that marvelous acrobatic feat, the present political contortions of Gompers are as nothing to those that illumine his career.

Menelik, King of Abyssinia, has appointed his grand-son as his successor. The unsophisticated Abyssinian does things of that sort candidly as a child; he does not hide behind the mask of nominating conventions packed by himself.

"There are children not born yet, but soon to be born. And their fathers are dead and their mothers are broken in health and spirits. Those children will probably be weaker in body and worse in disposition for the sorrow of their mothers during their prenatal lives." Pray, what makes these mothers broken in health and spirits? Can it be the ravages of commercialism, the worry for the week's wages, the long hours of toil, the lack of proper nourishment, and the thousand and one other uncertainties that are thrown in the worker's way under the "best possible of all social systems"? No. It is because we are an intoxicated or annexed to an intoxicated lot, says the eminent Dr. Aked. There is no evil but the drink evil, according to the reverent divine. The Doctor is unable to appreciate what George M. Pullman's statement contained when he said: "The public be damned."

John A. Van Rensselaer has added an interesting contribution to the theory of how to acquire wealth by one's own "directing ability." In the last two years he has "earned," no doubt, by his peculiar "talents," and squandered \$60,000. Now he was intent on acquiring \$5,000 more as a reward for his special services, or he would "blow his mother's head off." Who says that the capitalist doesn't work?

Mrs. Sarah Elizabeth Stetson, the millionaire widow of the millionaire Philadelphia hat manufacturer, will henceforth be Countess of Santa Eulalia of Portugal. The lady's action is purely charitable. The Portuguese nobility is just now badly in need of funds.

## NOT SENTIMENTALISM, SENSE

That is happening to the Preston presidential ticket that happened to Socialism itself, and that Socialism had to combat—the popular impression that it is a sentimental proposition.

It is not opposition but misplaced sympathy that a serious movement has really to combat against. Downright opposition invigorates; misplaced sympathy harms.

The notion, at one time prevalent, that Socialism was a sort of angelically millennial aspiration did much towards shutting the popular ear against it. Man's common sense renders him impatient towards all that is merely sentimental. The millennium is desirable, very desirable, but millenniumists are moon-calves, and their sentimentalism is not hearkened. Against this false, though not hostile impression, Socialism had to beat its way. Not until the fact got a footing that Socialism, however objectionable to some, was a matter of hard reasoning, did or could Socialism gain a hearing. From that moment on it progressed.

Railroads raise the rates on manufacturers; manufacturers thereupon raise prices; railroads and manufacturers lower wages, directly, and indirectly by higher prices. The one class that can not shift the burden to a lower one is the working class. Here is the choice—either come down to the coolie, or rise to the hero, with the ballot of the Socialist Labor Party blowing the clarion blast of freedom.

"The machinery of the banks' organization and of the law are too near-perfection not to get a grip on the fugitive sooner or later." And in the same breath the N. Y. "Commercial" admits that it was only because his money gave out that the absconding banker, W. F. Walker, was captured. Which leads us to remark that it depends upon the size of the pile bagged which decides the question to be or not to be captured.

Thomas L. Hisgen of New Springfield, Mass., is being groomed by the Independence party as its candidate for President. Mr. Hisgen is a competitor of the Standard Oil Company—at least both he and the Octopus find their account in conveying that impression. Mr. Hisgen's slogan during the campaign, as proposed by himself, was: "He has given the Standard Oil Company a hot fight for business in the New England States, and screwed the wages of his employees down: whether the Octopus was driven back or not, his wage-slaves were regularly driven down!" This, Hisgen considered, would render him an acceptable candidate to the "conservative element". But the politicians of his party struck out the last twenty-three words of the slogan as impolitic.

Down in Wall Street they are getting up a nice little testimonial to that worthy patriot and social savior J. Pierpont Morgan, in which those signing state that they "desire to place on record their appreciation of the patriotism, the skill, and the liberality manifested by J. Pierpont Morgan, Esquire, in preventing general disaster, and restoring public and private credit, during the recent critical period in the financial history of the United States." When the testimonial shall be handed to Mr. Morgan it will surely require great control of the facial muscles upon the part of the recipient and the donors, to prevent the exchange of knowing winks when they think of how their "patriotism, skill and liberality" were rewarded in millions of dollars that came to them through the Government having put the funds of the national treasury at their disposal to "prevent general disaster, etc."

### HELP WANTED.

During July and August subscriptions are generally slower than at other times. To a paper like the Weekly People, getting along as we do with a minimum of funds at the best of times, this period is especially trying. It could be much improved if all our friends would but lend a hand. We don't call upon you to make any sacrifice other than say, the donation of one hour's time, to the Weekly People. In that one hour you can surely get one subscription for us. You certainly have someone in mind as a prospective subscriber, and we hope you will try and land him. Don't leave it all to us. We need help—your help, so push the propaganda and do it now.

WEEKLY PEOPLE.

It is so with Preston's nomination.

The circumstance that he is a young man, the circumstance that he is wrongfully imprisoned, the circumstance that his alleged crime consisted in an intrepid stand against a murderous assault,—all these circumstances, together with others of kindred import, combine to impart to the act of the Socialist Labor Party, in nominating Preston for President, the aspect of a purely sentimental move.

Nothing was further removed from the mind of the S. L. P. convention than sentimentalism. It was not Preston, the VICTIM, it was Preston the intrepid PICKETMAN that the S. L. P. took and set up. In so doing the S. L. P. took and set a cardinal principle of Socialism and Socialist tactics.

The act of the S. L. P. was a logical sequence of the Party's principles. Without the economic organization of Labor, sufficiently ready to "move in" and seize the reins of rule, the day of the political victory of Socialism would be the day of its defeat. A social

crash would happen out of which something closely akin to Ignatius Donnelly's brutal Caesar would emerge. The economic organization of Labor, the Union, for short, is the embryo of Socialist society. It is the Union, and not the political organization of Labor that is the root which the Co-operative Commonwealth of the future is casting in the soil of capitalist society. It follows that the Union must be the prime thought of the Socialist, especially in a country like America, where nothing but capitalism confronts Socialism. Anything that endangers the Union places Socialism in jeopardy.

In the person of M. R. Preston, imprisoned, the Union is threatened. In the person of M. R. Preston, in prison, aggressive Unionism is represented.

No sentimentalism but sound reason directed the Socialist Labor Party convention in picking out for its presidential standard-bearer the man who, being on picket duty for his Union, was murderously assaulted by the picketed employer, shot him dead, and was "convicted" by a drum-corps jury.

## LONDON LETTER

BRITISH PROJECTS TO KEEP THE WORKERS IN SUBJECTION.

The Miners' Eight Hour Bill and the Secret of the Opposition to It—The Daylight Saving Bill Which by Starting the Day Earlier Appears to Give the Worker More Recreation—The Pension Bill Turns Out to Be a Saving Measure for the Capitalists—Unrest in Asia and the Anglo-Russian Alliance.

London, July 14.—The second reading of the Coal Mines Eight Hours (No. 2) Bill has passed in the House of Commons. There was some lively debating over the measure. The trades unionists are saying: "Pass this Bill or we'll strike." The opponents of the Bill hold that the measure should not be passed, that it should not be dragged into politics at all, that it is a matter for negotiation between masters and men.

Mr. F. E. Smith (U., Liverpool, Walton Division), directed rather keen criticism at the Labor party for having considered only the miners in their demands for an eight-hour day. Among his constituents were men who worked ten, twelve and fourteen hours per day—why were not they considered?

Mr. Herbert Samuel, for the Government, made his main argument in support of the Bill that the severity of the labor performed by the miners, the extreme danger of their work, and the great discomfort of spending their working lives underground out of light of day entitled them to preferential treatment. He did not say that what really entitles them to the sop of an eight hour day is the Government fear that it may lose the votes of the mine workers.

There was sharp cross firing over the claim of increased price in coal that would follow should the Bill become law. Mr. Smith shouting that the poor and the unemployed would have to make sacrifices for the benefit of the miner. Sir Charles McLaren, himself a coal owner, championed the Bill, and claimed that he had figured out that the cost which would be involved would be from 2d. to 3d. per ton of coal raised.

Mr. Keir Hardie said that the report before the House showed that at the present time the average working week of the miner was forty-three hours thirteen minutes, which gave an average of seven and a quarter hours per day.

To the man in the street it would seem that under such circumstances there would be little that savors of radicalism in passing the measure. But the fact of the matter is that other than mining interests are most bitterly opposed to the Bill. Mr. Bonar Law wound up the debate for the Opposition with a vigorous attack on the Bill. Throwing all consistency to the winds, he pointed out that the railwaymen also worked long hours, and if the Government passed a Bill for one trade, why not grant it to all trades which worked long hours? Just the thing he didn't want. Then he wept over the poor workingman having to pay more for his coal and predicted most serious consequences to the iron and steel trade.

Mr. Churchill replied on behalf of the Government. Whatever temporary dis-

advantage might result would soon be more than made up in the general expansion, he argued. The 900,000 colliery population would be notably and sensibly advanced in condition, in respect of their health and industrial efficiency, etc., etc. They had been asked "Why stop here?" But whoever said the Government would stop here?

The Daylight Saving Bill is again up for consideration. When first introduced it was laughed at; now it is taken very seriously indeed. If it passes we are to get up and to work earlier in summer than in winter. The advantages claimed for the scheme are: to promote greater use of daylight for recreative purposes; to lessen the use of licensed houses; to facilitate the training of the Territorial Forces; to benefit the physique, general health and welfare of the community; and lastly, an important consideration: to reduce the industrial, commercial and domestic expenditure on artificial light. In the words of Mr. Churchill: Government is busy trying to reconcile the conditions of labor with the well-ascertained laws of science and health—in other words, busy in devising schemes to keep the capitalist grip upon the workers by projects that are apparently for the welfare of the workers.

Meanwhile Mr. Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in an address to the bankers and merchants of London, warned them that he is pushed for money. On every hand the Government was confronted with dwindling revenues, while the demands upon the Treasury were increasing from day to day. At the same time there was a demand for reduction in taxation. Some wanted the Income Tax reduced; others said: Reduce the Death Duties; others said: Take something off tea and a little off sugar. But somebody had got to be taxed.

The main lines of the Pension Bill are now settled. The expenditure will be about seven millions. The tests are about as severe as those of charity societies, although the scheme is for the purpose of removing the aged poor from the position of a dependent pauper-class. As a matter of fact, the Pension scheme is to reduce the workhouse costs, and in the long run it will come to a practical compulsion on the workers to join some thrift society.

Once in a great while some of our noble Lords show that they know a thing or two, much to the surprise of everybody. Lord Curzon is the latest to show that he has some sagacity, but he surely lacked sagacity when he talked out in school, saying in the House of Lords:

"When we read, the other day, that among the personal property of one of these miserable bomb-throwers who were arrested, there were found 'Mill on Liberty,' we could detect the remote spark that led to the ultimate conflagration."

"The second and very potent cause of unrest is, I believe, the ferment which is going on, in every part of Asia at this moment, and it has been greatly, almost immeasurably, aggravated by the success of Japan over Russia in the last war. This is the first occasion for centuries in which, in an open conflict between East and West, in Asia and Europe, Asia has triumphed. The re-

(Continued on page 6.)

## RHODE ISLAND PUTS UP TICKET.

State Convention Names Herrick for Governor.

Providence, July 24.—The Socialist Labor Party met in State convention last Tuesday and nominated a State ticket. Following are the nominees:

For Governor:  
THOMAS F. HERRICK;

For Lieutenant-Governor:  
THOMAS E. O'NEIL;

For Secretary of State:  
GUS. MARTIN;

For Attorney-General:  
J. C. NORTHROP;

For State Treasurer:  
E. S. BOWERS;

For Presidential Electors:  
PETER McDERMOTT,  
CHARLES H. DANA,  
B. J. MURRAY,  
WOLF SEMONOT.

## GRAFT IN CONVICT LABOR.

Public Officials Wax Fat on Hiring Prison Labor.

Atlanta, Ga., July 26.—Mixed with the stories of convicts being whipped to death, which were yesterday told the legislative committee investigating the Georgia lease system, were stories of State officials using their connection with the lease system to get money.

First, it was learned from the testimony of Louis D. Yancey, a son of Secretary Goodloe Yancey of the prison commission, that Chief Warden Jake Moore and Chief Lessee W. B. Hamby had gone into a business partnership shortly after Hamby had secured 500 convicts by sending his bid into the prison commission's office, where Jake Moore was a high authority. Moore has been receiving only \$1,600 a year from the State, but he has managed to become wealthy in a few years.

There was also evidence implicating Chairman Turner of the prison commission and W. S. West, former President of the State Senate, in a deal in convicts by which they made big money. The grafting even extended to the Negro porter of the prison commission.

Sensational charges were made against Col. James W. English, Jr., one of the richest and most prominent social figures in Georgia, and also against Senator Brock, a member of the State Senate.

Col. English was accused of having attempted to secure by unfair means inside information from an employe of the prison commission as to bids made by other convict lessees for convicts. He is said to have used this information as the basis for making his own bids. A witness swore that the prison porter had made \$10,000 by selling English tips.

Col. English is president of the Chattahoochee Brick Company and a son of Capt. James W. English, president of the Fourth National Bank of Atlanta.

Senator J. R. Stapleton, a member of the State Senate, produced on the stand a copy of a report made by a sub-committee of the legislative investigating committee in November, 1907. Senator Brock, to whom the "original" was sent, and who is a member of the present legislative investigating committee, was not present at yesterday's hearing.

The missing report contained a severe indictment of conditions at the Chattahoochee Brick Company as they affected convicts. It declared that men were cruelly treated, were worked inhumanly, and were punished excessively. It recited that the State rules for the government of convict lessees were being absolutely ignored.

Instances of cruelty and inhuman treatment were recorded yesterday by ex-convicts and wardens employed by the State. The former told of being strung up and whipped until they fainted under the lash. Several men died. The men were given tasks in coal mines and brick yards beyond their physical endurance, and when they failed they were whipped.

## CANADIAN IMMIGRATION FALLS OFF.

Ottawa, July 27.—For the first six months of the present calendar year the total immigration to Canada was 96,119, as compared with 164,419 for the first half of 1907, a decrease of 73,300, or 43 per cent.

The immigration from the United States, made up largely of settlers going into the Canadian west, about held its own.

## COP HELPS MEETING

TRIED TO CHASE SOCIALISTS BUT ONLY INCREASED CROWD.

Workingmen Gathering Around Agitators Make Merchants Sore Whose Trade Suffered—Sympathy of Audience on Side of Speakers—Conditions Excellent for Spread of Propaganda.

(Special Correspondence.)

Louisville, July 19.—Last night, at Third and Market streets, the local Socialist Labor Party held a decidedly successful open-air meeting. The Lovenhart merchants on the corner aided considerably, though they did not mean to. It appears that their possible patrons preferred to stop at the meeting and hear the message of Socialism rather than enter their store. So the Messrs. Merchants appealed to the police to run the Socialists away.

J. Doyle was speaking on the soap box. Presently a patrolman and his corporal hove in sight, strode up to the stand, and, in that imperious manner characteristic of the uniformed servants of the master class, said: "Get a move on." He claimed he had orders to make the speakers find another location. J. H. Arnold here spoke up and asked the audience not to block the sidewalk. The copper answered, "Never mind, are you fellows going to move?"

"Oh, yes," Arnold replied, "we know we shall have to walk. Out of courtesy to Mr. Lovenhart we will take the other side of the street. One side is as good for us as the other. But, Mr. Officer, are these orders you have received from Mr. Lovenhart or from the chief of police?"

The cop answered, "You can consult Mr. Lovenhart, or the chief of police himself as to where my orders came from."

By this time the crowd had grown to twice its former size. Doyle and Ferguson had carried the speaker's platform across the street, and Doyle had remounted and was calling, "All you free-born Americans, come this way."

The interest had increased immensely, and a dense crowd had gathered. The encouraging feature of the situation was that the decided sympathy of the audience was on the Socialists' side.

Doyle and Arnold were the speakers, and they made the most of the fact that even the use of the streets was denied the working class whenever such use might interfere with some exploiter's adding a few dollars more to his private bank account.

One of the speakers observed that, "Were you men in this audience to enter Lovenhart's store with the means in your pockets to buy a suit of clothes, that merchant would extend to you the 'glad hand' and beam on you one of his sweetest smiles. But now, when you may find yourselves with the price of a suit of clothes in your pockets there's no law that will compel you to go to Lovenhart's and buy his — shoddy."

That the meeting was successful was evidenced by the fact that 26 books and 12 copies of the Weekly People were sold.

While the harvest is ripe let us all jump in and do our share of the work as militant laborers.

The conditions were never better for effective propaganda than now.

Let us try to realize the responsibility resting on us as the pioneers of a better civilization and strive to measure up to that responsibility.

In the language of our gray-haired comrade, "Let us learn to labor and to wait."

P. C.

## BOMBAY STRIKERS KILLED.

Mill Hands Coldly Shot Down by Troops. Bombay, July 26.—There was further disorder here yesterday, which was occasioned by the intervention of the troops. A number of the strikers were killed. The determination of the authorities to shoot down the people has put a stop to parades and demonstrations.

The disorders in Bombay began two days ago, when a large number of mill hands went out on strike as a mark of sympathy for a Nationalist leader who had been found guilty and punished for criticising the British administration.

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# POSITION OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

ON THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF LABOR.

Adopted by Order of National Convention in July, 1908.

The Socialist Labor Party is organized by members of the working class as the political instrument for securing what improvements of its condition may be possible under the present capitalist system, and for preaching and preparing the coming revolution, which will entirely free the working class from robbery and slavery of the wage system. It aims to accomplish this by transforming all means of production and distribution into the collective property of the people, thus abolishing the capitalist class, and making the working class the only class in society.

It knows from history that a class of the oppressed was never able to overthrow its oppressors till it secured economic power to predominance by securing ownership and control over the wealth-producing property of the country. Thus the Third Estate in France, the forefathers of the modern French capitalist class, became strong enough to overthrow its oppressors, the nobility and clergy, only towards the end of the 18th century, when it became, although politically still disinherited, economically the most wealthy and powerful class in France.

The modern proletariat or working class is the first class in history which has to perform for human progress a seemingly impossible task. With bare hands, as it were, stripped as it is of all property, or of any chance to acquire property, if it wants to secure for itself and its descendants a chance to live and enjoy the fruits of modern civilization it will have to overthrow its oppressor, the capitalist class, entrenched as the latter stands behind practically all the property of the country.

Still this seeming miracle can and will be performed not only because in our age, and especially in this country, the working class is numerically stronger than all the other classes combined; not only because it is now the only indispensable class in society—the only class whose physical and mental labor supports and carries on all industries, and the withdrawal of whose labor has the effect of paralyzing every industry—but because the modern capitalist class, in organizing the industries of the land, has placed them directly into the hands of the working class, so that the proletariat actually holds in its hands the necessities of labor and the means of its own emancipation.

It is this fact that makes of the modern working class the economically more powerful and controlling class in society, and the superior of the capitalist class in spite of all the wealth concentrated in the possession of the latter. All that is needed in order to enable the workers to assert and make proper use of the power in their hands is to combine all their political power and efforts into one political party of their class on a platform demanding the complete surrender of the capitalist class, and to back up such a party by an economic organization, in which all workers—from highest to the lowest paid—engaged in any industry shall be welded into one union which, while composed of separate branches for separate subdivisions of the industry, shall be in position, whenever needed, to set in motion against the common enemy—the employers—the entire working force of the affected industry, acting as harmoniously as a regiment in battle, and combining all other industrial unions into one army of industrially organized labor.

Only an organization so constructed, and imbued and guided by the spirit of modern revolutionary Socialism, and of universal brotherhood and solidarity of the working class, can resist the further encroachments of the capitalists. It can do so even though capital be concentrated in the modern powerful trusts, and be protected by all the forces of government. Moreover, only such an economic organization of labor is able to secure temporary and partial improvements in the condition of the working class until the hour of its final and complete emancipation from wage slavery.

On the day when a sufficiently large part of the working class will be organized into such an industrial army it will be in position to play the part of an army of occupation, and thus, under the protecting fire of the public powers captured by the force of their ballots and numbers, consummate the modern Social Revolution by dispossessing the capitalist class and restoring to the people, in their collective capacity, all the means of production and distribution, representing as these do partly a common gift of nature to the whole human family—the land—and partly the stored up collective product of the energies and inventive genius of the working class of this and past generations—the capital.

But in a country like ours such a revolutionary industrial army of the working class cannot be organized without at the same time exhausting all possible efforts to secure the dispossessment of the capitalist class by means of civilized warfare—political agitation and political action of the working class through its own class party. Without such a party the revolutionary industrial army of labor, instead of representing the power which must be ready in reserve to secure the fruit of the political victory of the working class, would represent only the physical force method of warfare, dependent as such pure and simple industrialism is upon the anarchistic weapon of "direct action," and bound, as it is, to degenerate into conspiracies, dynamism and the accompanying phenomena of police spy and agent provocateur activities, with all the discredit, failures and disasters for the working class implied in such activities. The struggle of Marx and Engels for political action and against Bakounin's exclusively physical force tactics under the auspices of the old "International Association of Workmen" glaringly illustrates this principle.

On the other hand, not only the Socialist Labor Party—the vanguard of the Socialist Movement in America—but all Socialists of the world, as they expressed it in the trades union resolution of the International Socialist Congress held in August, 1907, at Stuttgart, Germany, where 25 countries were represented, maintain that a political party of Socialism cannot secure the complete emancipation of the working class from wage slavery without an economic organization of labor, built and conducted on the principles of the class struggle, and guided by the spirit of working class solidarity.

That resolution declares—and nobody at that congress (not even the delegates of the Socialist Party of America) construed it as an "attempt to unduly interfere with or dictate to the unions—that the "labor unions, which are built on the theory of harmony and identity of interests of capital and labor, which are devoted only to the interests of their craft and are guided by the narrow, selfish spirit of the ancient guilds, are reduced to impotence by development of the capitalist system of production, by the increased concentration of the means of production, the growing combination of employers and the increasing dependence of different crafts upon each other." And we in America—the land where this capitalist development has outstripped all other countries, and where this type of craft unionism has reached its full bloom in the shape of the American Federation of Labor—know that such an organization of labor, considered as a whole, is not only "reduced to impotence," but degenerates and is transformed into a handmaid of great capitalists, assisting them in their efforts to crush their weaker rivals, and plays the part of breastworks and lightning rods, protecting the capitalist class and its system of wage slavery from destruction.

At present the bulk of the working class is not organized at all, a small part of it is disorganized and dispirited under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, and only a still smaller part, instead of the bulk of it, is organized into proper class unions. The Socialist Labor Party maintains that, so long as this is the situation, a political party of Socialism, which endeavors only to advance the movement on political lines and is guided in its relation to labor unions not by the recognition of the fact that, without powerful class-unions no emancipation of the working class is possible, but only by the expectation to secure from the existing anti-Socialist unions—occasional members, voters and financial support for its own—the political-organization and its press, is doomed to failure and defeat at every turn on its way to the goal.

In the first place, without a revolutionary industrial organization of labor acting as a support, the political party of Socialism, in the measure that it grows, is bound to fall a prey to the demoralizing and corrupting effect of politicians, broken-down ministers, office-seekers and vain and ignorant would-be leaders attracted to such a party, and finally land in the mire of social reform and "practical politics."

Further, without a revolutionary industrial organization of labor, embracing the bulk of the working class, the hope of the political party of Socialism to ever succeed in marshalling to the polls the necessary millions of Socialist voters is doomed to remain visionary—a utopian dream. No responsible representative of Socialism in any country will nowadays consider for a moment such a possibility. Even to get the necessary millions of Socialist votes—if for no

other purposes—there must necessarily exist a powerful economic organization of labor, built on and guided by the principles of the class struggle.

Again, without a revolutionary industrial organization of labor, if, through miracle or accident such millions of Socialist voters should really ever march to the polls, the representatives of the capitalists, in possession of the election machinery and offices, can be depended upon to count out the Socialist candidates, as amply shown by various experiences in political life of the country.

To expect that in such a case redress can be secured from courts, manned and controlled as they are by the guardians of capitalist interests, is as visionary as to expect that the voting constituency of such a party—scattered, unprepared, and in its bulk entirely disorganized and impersonal as such voting constituency is—can be depended upon to supply the physical force necessary to prevent or offset such a crime on the part of capitalist officials. Such force can be supplied only by a revolutionary industrial organization of labor, built up and drilled in advance and ready to lay its hands on the machinery of production as soon as capitalist officials commit fraud with election returns.

The same applies to the actual transfer of powers of the state to the duly elected representatives of the working class. The political party can secure for the Cause of Revolution only the moral support of the population. But if the moral endorsement and support expressed through the ballot box by a practically unorganized constituency, scattered over the face of a country and unprepared to bring powerful economic pressure to bear, were sufficient to ensure the actual transfer of the powers of state to the revolutionary representatives of a people, then there would have been no Czar in Russia at present. For, in spite of all gerrymandering and of the most atrocious persecutions of all the enemies of the Czar's government by the police, the majority of the First and Second Duma in Russia were enemies of the government. The peculiar position of the Russian government at that time compelled it to actually seat them. But the Russian working class was not industrially sufficiently organized; the opposition, although in possession of the moral support of the people, was not in position to exercise strong economic pressure, and a stroke of the pen of the Czar sufficed to scatter the two first Dumas to the winds, and to put the leading men of the opposition camp behind the bars and in convicts' chains. Only the existence of a revolutionary industrial organization of labor can secure for the working class, united at the ballot box, the actual possession of the powers of state. No other working class physical force is available.

At this stage the necessity of a revolutionary industrial organization of labor becomes still more evident. Political power is and can be successful only within certain limits. The pressure brought to bear upon the political state in the hands of the capitalist class may yield considerable results for the working class. The possession of the powers of that state finally secured by the working class may enable this class to make very effective use of them in the way of holding the defeated capitalist class in check and preventing its attempts to restore the abolished capitalist order. The powers of political state in the hands of a revolutionary working class can thus play the part of shore-batteries, protecting with their fire the operations of the army. But they cannot go beyond that.

Many Socialists still imagine that an army of officials and legislators, when elected on a ticket of a Socialist political party, even without any consideration for the occupations of the candidates and representing, as such candidates do, only mixed populations of geographical sections of the country, instead of definite industries—can and will perform the two last and main acts of the coming Social Revolution. These are: the taking of actual possession, on behalf of the people, of all means of production and distribution—the "expropriation of expropriators"—as Marx called it—and the transformation of capitalist society, based on private industries, into a collective Workers' Industrial Republic, as well as the substitution of the industrial administration, regulating the industrial activities of society, in place of the present political state, regulating as it does the conduct of individuals outside of their industrial activities.

It is contrary to the principles of social evolution and therefore just as utopian to expect that these two acts can be performed by an army of Socialist officials and legislators in possession of the state powers and without a previously developed, well organized revo-

lutionary industrial army of labor embracing at least a large section of the working class, as it were to claim that feudalism could be abolished before the rising capitalist class could have acquired and developed sufficient economic strength, or that Socialism could be substituted for capitalism before the latter created the class of proletarians and the material conditions necessary as the basis of Socialism. The "expropriation of expropriators" and the reorganization of the present social order into a Workers' Republic can be assisted by the powers of state in the hands of Socialists, but can only be accomplished by the industrially organized proletariat.

For all these reasons the Socialist Labor Party maintains, that not merely to agitate for Socialist votes but also to agitate for and assist in the building up of such a revolutionary industrial army of labor is the supreme duty of all Socialists, organized politically and otherwise, and calls upon all its members and supporters to enlist their services in active political agitation of the Party as well as in the work for class-conscious and industrial unionism.

To all its friends—to those in the industrial unions as well as to those of them who are compelled by considerations of a job and livelihood to belong against their will to the short-sighted, selfish craft unions, imbued with capitalist ideas, like those of the American Federation of Labor and kindred organizations—the Socialist Labor Party again proclaims:

"Whether you belong against your will to an A. F. of L. craft union, or are fortunate to belong to a class-conscious industrial union, remember that whenever your fellow-workers and shopmates are engaged in a bona-fide strike or other struggle for improved conditions of labor, it is your duty to fight in their ranks, no matter by what organization the struggle was inaugurated. But remember also, that whether you are within a craft union or outside, it is your right and your supreme duty to expose the fallacies and wrongs of craft unionism and to work with might and main for class-conscious industrial unionism, whenever the slightest opportunity presents itself."

The position of the Socialist Labor Party is strikingly and fittingly illustrated by the nomination of M. R. Preston as candidate of the Party for President of United States in this campaign of 1908.

Here is a workingman who, to assist his union in a boycott of a restaurant where the employed girls were striking, and in the exercise of his legal right, posted himself as a picket near the restaurant. His work is effective and the enraged proprietor attacks him with a murderous weapon—a gun—in hand. In defence of his life, as it was proved at the trial, Preston shoots and kills the would-be assassin.

If picketing itself, which brought Preston to the restaurant, is a rightful, legal act—as the Socialist Labor Party maintains it is—then Preston was within his rights in shooting the murderous assassin and should have been acquitted. If picketing itself were a crime then the shooting, even in self-defence, by Preston, would have constituted a crime and it would have been legal to convict such a defendant of murder. The capitalist court and authorities were quick to perceive the opportunity and, aiming, not at Preston, but at the right of a labor union to picket the employer's premises, packed the jury with perjured Pinkerton detectives, notorious bank-robbers, etc., convicted Preston and sentenced him to twenty-five years in state prison!

It is to expose and defeat this attack and attempt to destroy one of the most valuable weapons in the arsenal of the working class—without which weapon the union might as well disband—that the Socialist Labor Party, in raising its banner of revolt against the capitalist system, selected Preston for the head of its Presidential ticket in this campaign of 1908. The campaign under the name of Preston is not only a campaign to liberate a victim of capitalist class rule, but especially a campaign to preserve the integrity of the workers' arsenal, the integrity of the union.

Without revolutionary industrial union, as without revolutionary ballot, there is no united action of the working class on industrial or political field, consequently no victory, no freedom from wage slavery!

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## PHILANTHROPY GAME

METROPOLITAN COMPANY GETS WORKERS FUNDS.

President Vreeland of Conductors and Motormen's Beneficial Association Invests Surplus in Metropolitan Securities—Big Shrinkage in Values Cause Bonds to Be Sold at Sacrifice.

Four thousand employees of the Metropolitan Street Railway Co. of New York received an unpleasant shock when they learned that the cash of their beneficial association had been used by President Vreeland in the investment of Metropolitan securities which subsequently had to be sold at greatly depreciated prices. As a consequence of this the assets of the order have fallen to the amount of thousands of dollars.

Vreeland no longer is president of the organization. He retired from that position when he retired as president and general manager of the New York City and Metropolitan Railway system. Oren Root, Jr., the new general manager for the Federal receivers, succeeding him as president of the association.

Since Root took charge he and his associates have succeeded in getting rid of part of the Metropolitan holdings, of the association at a sacrifice, it is said, and other money in hand has been invested in city bonds and savings bank securities for the benefit of the employees of the company. Root had nothing to do with the original investment of the surplus of the association in Metropolitan securities. That was done under the administration of Vreeland. Surprise is expressed by those who are cognizant of the facts that Vreeland, the founder and promoter of the association, who must have known the receivership was coming weeks before it really came and sent the values of the Metropolitan securities tumbling, did not give to the association and its members the benefit of that inside knowledge at least to the extent of getting rid of such securities. The association still holds many of those securities, and its new management does not think it wise at this time, with the affairs of the Metropolitan Railway in such a muddled condition and the market depressed, to endeavor to get rid of them. How Vreeland could have invested the charity fund in these worthless securities the men cannot explain. They trusted him implicitly and assumed his judgment would be good.

Root admitted there had been depreciation and loss to the association. He declined positively, however, to criticize Vreeland and the others who had invested the association's money in Metropolitan securities and kept it there when the receivership was imminent.

The organization is composed chiefly of foremen, inspectors, motormen and conductors of the Metropolitan Railway and its allied lines. They pay part of their meagre earnings into the association each month to provide for themselves funds in event of illness or injury and for their families money in event of death from illness or accident. The last annual report showed that the association had 4,774 members. The Metropolitan Street Railway Association has not gone into the hands of receivers, however, and neither has it ceased to pay benefit for illness, injury or death. It is entirely independent of the railway companies themselves, although it has offices and recreation rooms, rent free, in the Metropolitan car barn at Fifth street and Seventh avenue. The association has suffered loss simply because those who engineered its investments put its surplus cash into Metropolitan Railway securities and kept it there even when the surface railway system under the Ryan-Vreeland management was tottering.

H. H. Vreeland is spending the summer in his country home near Brewster. He was communicated with by telephone; informed of the stories current and asked what he had to say about them.

"I don't know anything about them," the former president of the Metropolitan said.

"You were president of the association, were you not?" "Yes," he admitted.

"Then who will know about the investments if you do not?" he was asked.

Instead of replying he hung up the receiver and declined to return to the telephone again, a Brewster telephone operator said.

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president of the railways and also of the association. In the printed report issued by authority of Vreeland and distributed among the men appeared these paragraphs:

"We have \$34,822.99 invested in the bonds of the properties we operate."

"We have \$5,739.25 in the bank."

This showed that money belonging to the men had been invested in the securities of railways which even then were in the hands of receivers.

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# THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION

A CRITICISM OF THE POSITION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY. BY J. ROSENSTEIN.

In order to determine what stand a Socialist party should take in regard to the exclusion of Asiatic races, the question should be considered under the following heads:

(1) Will such a measure improve the condition of the working class?

(2) Is the measure in consonance with the fundamental principles of Socialism?

(3) Which will be the effects of the measure if enacted into law?

Let us see then how the question will shape itself under these different aspects.

(1) The present condition of the working class is entirely dependent on and conditioned by the stage which the capitalist system has reached in its evolution and as this system steadily advances by increasing the productivity of labor and thereby increasing the rate of surplus value, so the condition of the working class is continually growing more miserable and more wretched. The exclusion of Asiatics from this country can not stave off this movement for one single instant; let alone improving the condition of the working class. At the best it can only have a negative effect of doubtful quantity as regards the workers already in the country but the opposite is true as regards the immigrants themselves. Furthermore, so long as there are thousands of idle workers all over this country every additional worker who lands on these shores, irrespective of race, color or sex, or whether he be organized or not, will increase the existing misery, and this is due only to the capitalist system, and not to the fact that he may be an Asiatic.

But while some of us advocate the exclusion of workers, never a single voice has been raised against the immigration of capitalists; quite to the contrary they are most carefully exempted from all existing and contemplated exclusion laws. And why, may I ask, are we careless of increasing the number of our exploiters? Have we abandoned then our fight against capitalism and have we now turned to fighting the working class? Is it that at last we have discovered that it is some of the workers who cause the poverty of others, that the unemployed is poor because someone else is working? Oh, ye shades of Karl Marx! Where, oh where, are we drifting?

You, the advocates of exclusion, are misleading the people as to the true nature of their "material interest and economic necessities." These can never be served by any action taken against workers but only by such as will tend towards the final abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth. That no Socialist party is to-day in power is due solely to the fact that the majority of the people do not recognize their true "material interest and economic necessities"; in short, that the majority is as yet not class-conscious. You, instead of pointing the straight road to our final goal, confound the issues and advocate measures against the working class while you should be busy advocating measures against capitalism. And why? For fear that you might incur the displeasure of some organization outside of the Socialist party, an organization which still speaks of the identity of interests of capital and labor and which has not the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth at heart. But, however all this may be, exclusion once admitted in principle, there can be only one consequential course open for the Socialist party to pursue, namely: to advocate the erection of a Chinese wall and to prohibit all immigration.

(2) As to fundamental principles: the document to turn to for our guidance is the "Declaration of Principles," written by Karl Marx and issued by the "International," founded at London September 28th, 1864, the very document which since has formed the basis for all Socialist platforms the world over and the following passages are extracts from it:

"All exertions which up to this time have been directed toward the attainment of this end (the economic emancipation of the working class) have failed on account of the want of solidarity between the various branches of labor in every land and by reason of the absence of a brotherly bond of unity between the working class of different countries."

You may call this idealism and you may sneer; the Socialist party has waxed fat on sneers about idealism, but it hits hard just the same when they issue from its own camp. No! This is not idealism—this is immensely practical. The capitalist class today forms one solid unit all over this earth and they do not exclude their

own for fear their unity might suffer, and to face this power a Socialist party must consider it one of its most important tasks to unify and solidify the workers of all countries, because it should hold with Karl Marx that without this the emancipation of the working class cannot be accomplished. And what are we in America doing to further this brotherly bond of unity? We are excluding from our shores the workers of Asia. Does anyone believe that the workers of Japan or China have any reason to set faith in the brotherly love of those who deny to them the right which they freely grant to others?

But let me quote further:

"The first International Labor Congress declares that the International Workingmen's Association and all societies and individuals belonging to it, recognize truth, right and morality as the basis of their conduct toward one another of their fellow men, without respect to color, creed or nationality. This Congress regards it as the duty of man to demand the rights of a man and citizen, not only for himself, but for everyone who does his duty. No rights without duties; no duties without rights."

The words speak for themselves and comment could only detract from their force and beauty.

The advocates of exclusion laws are clearly subverting every fundamental principle laid down for the guidance of the party in this document. And these principles are nothing more nor less than an amplification of that all-embracing, most powerful of proverbs: "Don't do unto others as you would not be done by yourself."

Japan finds herself to-day in the unenviable position of being confronted with the argument that she should not resent for herself that which she is doing unto others. Thousands of American workers are to-day emigrating into Canada. Would we suffer to be excluded? Would we submit to that humiliating examination as to whether we are capitalists or proletarians, only to be turned back if we do not belong to the select few? If you, the advocates of exclusion, could feel the indignity and shame of this you would have small patience indeed for the race-hatred that has no other foundation than that a man is doing his duty as a man; that he is working.

(3) What will be the result of exclusion laws? Anyone who has eyes to see and ears to hear will know that China to-day is straining every nerve to prepare herself to shake off an obnoxious exclusion law; and if a like law will be enacted against Japan, war will be threatened forthwith. And if this law shall have been enacted with the aid and at the instance of the Socialist party, that party will stand irrevocably committed to grant to the capitalist class every demand for the increase of the army and of the navy to their hearts content, and the Socialist party must forge with its own hand the weapon that will smite it.

If all my other arguments were meaningless and false, this single one should be sufficient to point the only logical course for the Socialist party to pursue, and that is: to take a firm stand against all exclusion laws and to demand the rights of a man and citizen for everyone who does his duty.

Honolulu, H. I.

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# SERVITUDE OF INTELLECTUALS

It is not in the circle of the intellectuals, degraded by centuries of capitalist oppression, that we must seek examples of civic courage and moral dignity. They have not even the sense of professional class-consciousness. At the time of the Dreyfus affair, a certain minister discharged, as if he had been a mere prison guard, one of the professors of chemistry in the Polytechnic school who had had the rare courage to give public expression to his opinion. When in a factory the employer dismisses a workman in too arbitrary a fashion, his comrades grumble, and sometimes quit work, even though misery and hunger await them in the street.

All his colleagues in the Polytechnic school bowed their heads in silence; each one crouched in self-regarding fear, and what is still more characteristic, not a single partisan of Dreyfus in the Society of the Rights of Man or in the ranks of the press raised a voice to remind them of the idea of professional solidarity. The intellectuals who on all occasions display their transcendental ethics, have still a long road to travel before they reach the moral plane of the working class and of the socialist party.

The scientists have not only sold themselves to the governments and financiers; they have also sold science itself to the capitalist-bourgeoisie. When in the eighteenth century there was need to prepare the minds of men for the Revolution by sapping the ideological foundations of aristocratic society, then science fulfilled its sublime mission of freedom; it was revolutionary; it furiously attacked Christianity and the intuitional philosophy. But when the victorious bourgeoisie decided to base its new power on religion, it commanded its scientists, its philosophers and its men of letters to raise up what they had overthrown; they responded to the need with enthusiasm. They reconstructed what they had demolished; they proved by scientific, sentimental and romantic argument the existence of God the father, of Jesus the son and of Mary the virgin mother. I do not believe history offers a spectacle equal to that presented in the first years of the nineteenth century by the philosophers, the scientists and the literary men, who from revolutionaries and materialists suddenly transformed themselves into reactionaries, intuitionalists, and Catholics.

This backward movement still continues; when Darwin published his "Origin of Species," which took away from God his role of creator in the organic world, as Franklin had despoiled him of his thunderbolt, we saw the scientists, big and little, university pro-

fessors and members of the Institute, enrolling themselves under the orders of Flourens, who for his own part had at least his eighty years for an excuse, that they might demolish the Darwinian theory, which was displeasing to the government and hurtful to religious beliefs. The intellectuals exhibited that painful spectacle in the fatherland of Lanark and of Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire, the creators of the evolution theory, which Darwin completed and defended against criticism.

To-day, now that the clerical anxiety is somewhat appeased, the scientists venture to profess the evolution theory, which they never opposed without a protest from their scientific conscience, but they turn it against socialism so as to keep in the good graces of the capitalists. Herbert Spencer, Haeckel, and the greatest men in the school of Darwinism demonstrate that the classification of individuals into rich and poor, idlers and laborers, capitalists and wage-earners, is the necessary result of the inevitable laws of nature, instead of being the fulfillment of the will and the justice of God. Natural selection, they say, which has differentiated the organs of the human body, has forever fixed the rank and the functions of the social body. They have, through servility, even lost the logical spirit. They are indignant against Aristotle because he, being unable to conceive of the abolition of slavery, declared that the slave was marked off by nature; but they fail to see that they are saying something equally monstrous when they affirm that natural selection assigns to each one his place in society.

Thus it is no longer God or religion which condemns the workers to wretchedness,—it is science. Never was there an intellectual bankruptcy more fraudulent.

M. Brunetiere, one of those intellectuals who do not feel their degradation and who joyfully fulfil their servile task, was right when he proclaimed the failure of science. He does not suspect how colossal this bankruptcy is.

Science, the great emancipator, which has tamed the powers of nature, and might in so doing have freed man from toil so that he could develop freely his faculties of mind and body; science, become the slave of capital, has done nothing but supply means for capitalists to increase their wealth, and to intensify their exploitation of the working class. Its most wonderful applications to industrial technique have brought to the children, the women and the men of the working class nothing but overwork and misery!—*Socialism and the Intellectuals*, by PAUL LAFARGUE.

# APPLICATIONS FOR RELIEF INCREASE

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS FAR FROM BEING NORMAL.

It is not the repeaters but the twenty or thirty new families a day which now harrow up the feelings of some of the officers of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

Mrs. Ingram, superintendent of relief, when seen said that the association received in June of this year nearly three times as many applications for relief as in June, 1907, and that the comparison between July, 1907, and July, 1908, would be about the same.

To meet this increase even partially the association has been obliged to draw heavily on its reserve fund, heretofore dedicated solely to contingencies growing out of seasons of general illness or of an unusual number of casualties or deaths, none of which have been prominent of late.

"The genuineness of the cases is what impresses us most," said Mrs. Ingram. Almost always our visitors find that the stories told by applicants are not in the slightest degree exaggerated. Almost without exception the twenty or thirty new cases a day represent a self-respecting class which usually has some savings in the bank. For the last half dozen months many of these have been drawing these savings out dollar by dollar while the husband and father worked on half time or only two days a week or something like that, and knew that he was lucky to get even that much.

"Some of the later applicants for aid are men who previously had not been out of work in ten or fifteen years, and it was not until after January or February that their families began to feel the pinch, and not until now that they actually suffered.

"There have been times when we could force responsibility on applicants by declaring: 'You must work at something, anything till times are better.' But we can't do that now for the reason that in every one of the new cases the man or woman is perfectly willing to work at anything at all that will bring in a dollar.

"In spite of what some persons think to the contrary, there is not among certain classes of workmen a noticeable decrease in the number of idle men. Seldom since January have we had fewer than 600 men out of work represented in the families we have helped, and the majority of these are married men.

"The opening of the summer resorts provides some extra work, but the men who get these jobs are mostly unmarried.

"Things are very slow in the building trades, which now employ dozens where one year ago they employed thousands, and until after the election there will not be much change, I am told. The number of painters 'out of a job' is phenomenal, the reason given being that owners of private houses are chary just yet about spending money for repairs.

"Laborers and porters and waiters and the kind of man who says, 'I ain't got no trade; I'll do anything, lady,' are not much better off now than they were three months ago or before the factories started up. Jewellers' helpers, among the first to feel the hard times, are not yet getting work fast. The manufacture of anything in the

luxury class and mostly ornamental is not making much headway as yet. Piano workers—hosts of them—have been forced to the edge of destitution for the reason that whole buildings at one time given over to the manufacture of pianos have been as quiet as a church for months. Pianos are bulky things to store, one manufacturer reminded me, and neither he nor his competitors felt like loading up with them since the demand for pianos took a decided drop. Makers of fine cabinets are in the same fix.

"All this is an old story of which the public is more or less tired; but it is curious that so few persons, comparatively, realize that in some quarters the suffering from these conditions is now greater than ever before. Times are better, the average person says and 'settles back comfortably as if the question was closed and the need of aid associations and generous money contributions a thing of the past. It takes a lot of explaining to make some good people understand how longshoremen and workers of that sort can be affected by the depressed industrial conditions, because they say that a longshoreman's work needs always to be done and is always demanded. So it is, but not nearly to an extent to match the number of applicants for the work. This number is at present more than double what is ordinarily.

"Even in an emergency a longshoreman can't work at making pianos. It doesn't occur to him to apply for that sort of work. A piano maker, on the other hand, can and will in an emergency ask for a longshoreman's job, and he will stand a good chance of getting it too, if he is brawny enough. For that reason for every twenty longshoremen wanted there are fifty or more men who want the job. And the same conditions prevail in other of the humbler occupations.

"I find few persons who appreciate that in the commonplace field of housecleaning hundreds of women formerly employed by the day failed this year to get even one day's work. Woman after woman has told me: 'My customer says she is going to do the housecleaning herself this year, that she can't afford to hire it done.'

"It is the same with laundry work. Some women have cut down on the quantity of lingerie they wear. Others instead of sending out all their laundry have economized by hiring a woman to come to the house and do the work, with the result that women who formerly earned anywhere from \$2 to \$5 a week at home by taking in washing now find their revenue from this source cut in two or cut out altogether.

"No, our experience tells me that as yet industrial conditions for the humblest classes are far from normal.

"Oh, I'm so distressed! All my families are hungry again, and they are such good people,' one of the most sympathetic of our workers exclaimed this morning.

"Last Friday she gave out enough provisions to tide most of them over Sunday, but here it is Tuesday again and cupboards are empty and wage earners, I suppose, still idle. These families are not of the repeating order at all. They are new cases, and of a class which seldom or never asks for charity."—N. Y. Sun.

## SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. Headquarters, Hungarian Socialist Federation, Lettonian Socialist Labor Federation, 883 McAllister street.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading rooms at 409 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Wednesday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

Section Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P., meets every alternate Sunday at 350 Ontario street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 3 P. M.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O., S. L. P., at 1414 Race street. General Committee meets every second and fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every night.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P., meets every first Saturday in the month at 8 P. M. Headquarters 815 Hamilton street.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st., room 8. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesdays of each month.

New Jersey State Executive Committee, S. L. P.—John Hossack, Secretary, 22 Fulton Ave., Jersey City; Fred Gerold, Financial Secretary, 102 Waver-

ly St., Jersey City, N. J.

Chicago, Illinois.—The 14th Ward Branch, Socialist Labor Party, meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday, 2 p. m. sharp, at Friedmann's Hall, S. E. corner Grand and Western avenues. Workingmen and women are cordially invited.

Section Seattle, S. L. P., headquarters, free reading room and lecture hall, No. 2000 Second avenue. P. O. address, Box 1040.

Section Salt Lake, Utah, meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m.; Rooms 4 and 5, Galena Block, 60 East 2nd So. 5th Free Reading Room. Weekly People readers invited.

All communications intended for the Minnesota S. E. C. should be addressed to Otto Olson, 310 7th ave., So. Minneapolis, Minn.

Section St. Paul, Minn., S. L. P., holds a business meeting every second and fourth Sunday in the month at 10 a. m. at Federation Hall, cor. 2nd and Wabash streets.

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Engles, Life Of.

No Compromise.

Right to be Lazy.

Socialism, What It Is.

Workmen's Programme.

New York Labor News Company.

28 City Hall Place. New York.

# SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM

If Socialism stands for one thing more than another it stands for individuality. We seek no reduction to a uniform level of physical measurement, of height, chest capacity, or muscular vigor; we do not expect that all our intellectual powers shall be of the same order in kind or in degree; that our education shall be along the same lines; that our various opinions and beliefs must be forced into concurrence.

That is and has been the outcome of individualism. To all appearance it has been the aim, as expressed by our codes of education for elementary schools, to instruct all pupils in exactly the same subjects and to the same extent; to drill them into one style of writing, of reading, and of doing a few sums, entirely irrespective of the aptitudes of the individual children themselves. Instead of education we had instruction; training gave place to dogmatics.

Children under our individualistic system have been treated as if they had no individuality whatever. It was implied in our educational scheme that what one child can do all children can do. The child-mind was regarded as a blank sheet of paper on which might be inscribed whatever one pleased.

Your individualistic state sets about declaring what all children should be, and sets about making them so—to its discomfiture.

Elementary education has been a failure until now, perhaps, when examination for grants have been abolished and freedom of choice in subject and method has been allowed to the teacher.

But even now classes of pupils numbering 60 to 80 are taught en masse; a class of 50 is regarded as a small one.

What possible individuality can be encouraged and developed in any child by even the most capable and sympathetic teacher?

In our science and technical evening schools we have courses of instruction on the same lines. Ill prepared in the day schools, the pupils are unable to derive the full benefit of their opportunities. They have not learned to be students. Their day school teachers have supplied both mind and text book with the result that when a book of study is put into the hands of the average evening student he does not know how to use it.

The evening pupils are handicapped, too, in coming to their study tired in mind and body after a full day's work.

These facts are slowly being recognized by educational authorities, and there are signs of improvement.

All this, however, is not the gravest thing that can be said about the matter. The painful fact is that the aim of education has been forgotten, and that the whole purpose of our schools appears to be the creation of more efficient tools for the workshop and the office. There is the hope in the student that his technical knowledge will be of advantage in competition for employment or for promotion, and that his wages will be greater.

The latter hope is certain to disappointment; and if it were realized might not be worth the strain—for under these conditions learning is a strain, it ceases to give pleasure, it is not self-development, but is instead a fevered striving for individual material benefit at the expense of individuality.

So in our workshops. How mechanical, monotonous and wearing the routine becomes when one has to attend to the same small duty throughout the whole working day. Unremitting attention to a machine—the real worker—has reduced the mill hand to a mere adjunct of machinery. There can be no sort of pretence that for the masses of the people modern factory life, or clerical work, makes for a strengthening and development of individuality in the worker.

Dogmatism in religion and social custom also discourage individuality in thought and conduct. From our beliefs to our wearing apparel we are slaves to routine.

Monotony in education, in religion, in life, is the outcome of individualism, and will disappear only with the achievement of Socialism and the consequent development of individuality.

We require that every several man shall have what is now denied him—a full and free development of the body and mind he is born with, shall be alert and active in both, stunted neither physically nor mentally. We aspire to no dead level, which, were it possible, would efface all picturesqueness from life. We ask equality of opportunity for all, because we want each and every man and woman to be in the true sense an individual.—From *Darwinism and Socialism*, by LAURENCE SMALL.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

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It is Replete with Historic Information.

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## UNITY

An Address by DANIEL DE LEON

THE QUESTION OF SOCIALIST UNITY IS TO THE FORE AND THIS PAMPHLET SHOULD BE READ BY ALL WHO ARE INTERESTED IN BRINGING IT ABOUT. . . .

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**SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.**

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	50,544
In 1900	54,191
In 1904	54,172

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 1, 1908.



**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY  
PRESIDENTIAL TICKET.**

**For President:**  
**MARTIN R. PRESTON,**  
Miner, now wrongfully in a Nevada jail for being true to his class.

**For Vice-President:**  
**DONALD L. MUNRO,**  
Machinist, Virginia.

You hurry by—what errands call?  
Service to heart, or head, or purse?  
Shed you a freeman's boon on all,  
Or shape a subtler curse?  
We numbered but a little clan  
Beside your million-teeming press,  
Yet wrought the general good of man—  
Wee be your meed if you do less.  
—WM. ROSCOE THAYER.

(On a portrait of Hancock in the Old Boston State House.)

**CALL YE NOT THIS ALSO A CAUSE?**

A hundred and thirty years ago there was fought out on this soil a conflict which gave a nation freedom from foreign despotism. Down the ages, as long as history is read or written, the fame of that struggle will go ringing. Its renown is nobly merited. Yet strange to say, it is often the loudest declaimers of the glories of Revolutionary days who are strongest arrayed against the oncoming conflict, that which will establish Socialism on the ruins of competitive production, the same as its predecessor a century and a quarter ago established American independence on the ruins of feudal sovereignty.

"What!" the argument runs. "What is there to fight for now? We are independent, no one oppresses us, the foreign tyrant is no more, and every man can hew out his own fortune. A revolution in '76 was necessary and alright; now it would be unnecessary and all wrong."

Would it, though? A comparison of the issues involved then and now may help to answer the question.

In the first place, are we free and independent? The foreign oppressor, in the meaning of King George's time, is gone, it is true. But on our own shores, within our own family, as it were, has grown up a despotism a hundred times more rigorous than ever the Georges tried to wield. Abstract rights, in the statute books, we have. But within those same liberal statutes, designed to overthrow political domination, has grown up an economic oppression, not contemplated by or guarded against by those statutes, which swings its mighty sceptre with greater weight than ever the subjects of the Georges felt.

To illustrate: The Georges tried to restrict American manufacturing to certain articles, and then only on condition of certain payments for the right. To-day, the capitalist owner of the tools restricts the right to manufacture of millions of workers, allowing them to produce only if they give him four-fifths of their product as his profits.

The Georges tried to exact a trifling tax on tea, window-glass, and a few other commodities. To-day, by the monopolizing of industry, the masters

of economic power can fleece the people again as consumers, piling on the price to the breaking point—witness just now the Beef Trust, the Ice Trust, and the Consolidated Gas Co.

The Georges reigned over a scattering million of people. Even had the Hanoverian tyranny gone its furthest, the virgin forest, rich with opportunity, lay behind the settlers. They could have moved back, developed and become prosperous in spite of the hand across the water. To-day, the lords of creation, the Iron Kings, Sugar Kings, the Railroad Kings and their tribe, reign in fact over a populace of eighty full million, and growing yearly; to whom, moreover, all natural opportunity has long since been cut off.

The Georges exercised their tyranny over a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic coast. Their descendants, the barons of American production, carry things with a high hand over a domain that reaches from ocean to ocean, from the Gulf to the Great Lakes, and is now being pushed Asia-ward, across the Pacific islands and the Philippines. In the words of England's boast, they can say "We hold a greater Empire than has been."

Can one declare, then, that whereas a Revolution to overthrow the stuffy old drones of the German hive was legitimate, a Revolution to-day, to overthrow the home-bred article, is impious? In the light of their greater power, extending even to the life and death of our people, as is seen now in the times of the panic; in the light of the greater territorial expanse of their dominion; in the light of every comparison that can be drawn between the self-reliant, self-sufficient status of the Americans in '76 and the helpless, ground-down condition of the populations in 1908, one can not but agree that if the Revolution which gave us political freedom were justified, that which will give us economic freedom is doubly so. If the war of '76 was fought for a cause, call ye not this also a Cause?

**A "SQUARE DEAL."**

From two camps in the land sky-rocketers of distress are signalling to the Government for help.

One of the two camps consists of smaller property-holders who are crowded by bigger ones; the other camp consists of property-less wage-slaves who are ground down by the whole property-holding class, and as yet know no better than to "cry for help."

With a "Square Deal" on its lips the Republican platform, unanimously adopted at Chicago by Rooseveltites and Alfies alike, declares that it commends "the appropriation by the present Congress to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to thoroughly investigate, and give publicity to, the accounts of interstate railroads."—This is the deal to the goods-manufacturing and shipping, property-holders.

With the identical "Square Deal" on its identical lips, the identical Republican convention adopted, with identical unanimity, a declaration approving the appropriation of "\$150,000 at the recent session of Congress in order to secure a thorough inquiry into the causes of catastrophes and loss of life in the mines."—This is the deal to the property-less.

The picture is not yet complete. The amount appropriated for a "thorough inquiry" into the constant mine catastrophes is given—\$150,000. The amount is ridiculously insufficient for the magnitude of the work. But things are big or small in comparison with others. What was the appropriation made for the much easier inquiry into railroad accounts? If so niggardly an appropriation as \$150,000 is made for a "thorough inquiry" into the multiple mine disasters, the "Square Deal" would manifest itself in a proportionally smaller appropriation for the inquiry into railroad accounts.

The first thing to call attention is the silence of the platform, as adopted, upon this particular appropriation. The silence bulges into significance when the platform, as adopted, is compared with the original draft. The original draft incautiously mentioned the figures. The platform, as adopted, cautiously struck out the figures. They were \$350,000—more than double the amount appropriated for investigating mine disasters!

For the easy work of examining the books of the railroads at their head offices a fat, effective appropriation is made by the "Square Deal". For the laborious work of inspecting the hundreds and thousands of mines spread over an area of fully one-third of the land the "Square Deal" makes not only a smaller, but so utterly inadequate an appropriation that it clearly is, not an appropriation to investigate and redress wrongs, but an appropriation to furnish junketing "investigation" committees the funds for a jolly good time.

Capitalist "Square Deal" is pay for

**CAPITAL, KICKS FOR LABOR.**

The capitalist "Square Deal," administered by the carefully framed Republican platform, is a loud announcement to the miners, and through them, to the rest of the working class whose members are daily slaughtered and injured by the scores and the hundreds in factories, mills, mines, on the railroads and on all the other fields of industry:

"Your sufferings and your sorrows are, like your toil, but sources of profit to us. You toil in poverty that we may riot in luxury. Your deaths and hurts from the catastrophes that befall you are but welcome pretexts for us to raise funds upon which to feast some more. That is your place and mission in the scheme of capitalist Square Deal. Shout with joy that such a privilege is yours. If not—injunctions!—or worse yet, imprisonment for 'murder' if you dare defend your lives as in Preston's instance!"

**TOPSY-TURVY PROHIBITIONISM.**

The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, has again flown to the wind its standard, which heralds, in condensed form, the economic(!) principle(!!) that liquor is the cause of involuntary poverty, and that, consequently, in order to abolish involuntary poverty, "the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation or transportation of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes" shall be prohibited.

That many a Prohibitionist actually believes in this bizarre doctrine is undeniable. It is undeniable that, to these, the fact of drunkenness among capitalists who remain rich is a problem of no significance. The fact that, if liquor were the cause of poverty, the capitalist class, which drinks in one night more liquor than whole wards of workers from year end to year end, should be in the poor-house,—robust a fact though that is, leaves these Prohibitionists unmoved. The law of wages, which establishes penury for the proletarian, however sober he may be, and abundance for the capitalist class, however rum or champagne sodden it may be, is a closed book to the Prohibitionist.

In manner that follows no special economic lines of reasoning, but simply photographs reality, Eugene Sen covered the point in one of his many great works—"Martin the Foundling." Martin had been apprenticed to a journeyman mason named Limousin, who got drunk regularly on Sundays. One day Martin asked him why he did so. The following passage thereupon occurs in Martin's diary:

"Martin," said he to me, "Sunday is my own; were I not to get drunk on that day, I should go drunk all the week; aye, and more than that, I should become idle, envious, quarrelsome, and some day or other a thief, perhaps even worse than that. I am well convinced of it; the labor and poverty would be too much for me, were there no end or break to them; in short, were they like those long roads of four or five leagues in length, which, when one is on the march, it is enough to break one's heart to see straight before you as far as your eyes can reach: Now, every Sunday, instead of this never-ending straight line of my miserable existence, composed wholly of sharp flints and burning sands, I see cascades of rock water, flowery mountains, enchanted palaces, in a word, my lad, a thrilling assemblage of delights compared to which I look upon the fine chateaux at which I work as so many pig sties, and their fine parks as so many mole hills. On the Mondays, when I return from my excursions, what care I that six curish days have to pass? Do I not see my Sunday at the end of them?"

"I drink, and I have the right to drink, for the purpose of transporting myself out of these surroundings, I know not whether, four or five times a month;—and is not that better than to madden through life?"

"I once asked Limousin, why, seeing that drunkenness seemed so great a comfort to him, he did not get drunk every evening? His answer was alike decisive and stern: 'Either I must steal in order to have the means of getting drunk without working, and I will not steal, or I should earn enough to buy the means of getting drunk daily. Now, those earnings would suffice for all my wants, I should then be happy;—AND HAVE NO OCCASION TO GET DRUNK TO FORGET THAT HAPPINESS.'"

With the poor who are held down in misery, drunkenness is but a means of emancipating themselves from physical surroundings that are unhappy. The disease of drunkenness can be cast off only by a healthy social system.

The Prohibitionist, who honestly aims at a "sober nation", belongs in the Socialist Labor Party camp. The Prohibitionist outside got the cart before the horse. Not drunkenness breeds poverty, but poverty breeds drunkenness.

**AN "OFFICIAL" PROOF.**

The "Official Circular" of the New York Post Office contributes a timely sermon on class-rule.

Under the heading "Attempts to Influence Legislation Prohibited," the "Official Circular" calls, by order of the Post Office Department, attention to the Executive Order of Jan. 31, 1902, which it proceeds to publish, as follows:

"All officers and employees of the United States of every description, serving in or under any of the Executive Departments, and whether so serving in or out of Washington, are hereby forbidden, either directly or indirectly, individually or through associations, to solicit an increase of pay, or to influence or attempt to influence in their own interest any other legislation whatever, either before Congress or its committees, or in any way save through the heads of the Departments, in or under which they serve, on penalty of dismissal from the Government service."

He who reads the heading—"Attempts to Influence Legislation Prohibited"—in an official circular issued by a Government Department can draw but one conclusion. The conclusion is that the Government prohibits attempts to influence legislation by anyone whom the Government employs. The Postal Department employs many people in many capacities. Among the people so employed are the railroad magnates with whom contracts are made to carry the mails. An Executive Order, issued in a Republic forbidding the men in its service from influencing legislation in their own interest, by any means whatever, is in itself preposterous. It implies a denial of the suffrage to the employees; it implies a denial of free speech; it implies a denial of the right of peaceful assemblage and petition. Broadly looked upon Executive Order of Jan. 31, 1902, is an arrogation of powers that the letter and spirit of the Constitution deny the Executive.

More closely scanned, the Executive Order is even more iniquitous. Looked at broadly, it would be free from the stigma of "class legislation." It would smite alike the multimillionaire railroad director "whose daughter marries a foreign Prince and whose son is a fool," and the proletarian girl employed in the bagging department whose wages spell "starvation." Closely scanned, however, it is an Order that smites only the proletarian and leaves free the capitalist element in the Department. The proletarian element may in no wise attempt to influence legislation in their interest; the capitalist element is free "directly or indirectly, individually or through associations" to solicit legislation that shall raise the price, already excessive, paid to them by the Government for operating the mails.

There are no classes in the land? The class struggle is a Socialist invention? The present Government is not a class Government? The President is the President of all the people, dealing square deals all around?

The "Official Circular" of the New York Post Office itself answers the questions. It needs no arguments; it furnishes the crushing facts.

Judge Brewer has delivered himself of a speech in which he denounced the boycott, and in which, as a matter of course, he also and even more thrillingly denounced the blacklist. It is essential to denunciations of the civic rights of Labor to couple with it some strong denunciation of the criminal acts of the capitalist. That gives a color of fairness to the unfair act, and enables the press of the capitalist usurper to say, as it is now saying, that "what adds force to Judge Brewer's denunciation of the boycott is that he equally denounced the blacklist." Judge Brewer's denunciation of the blacklist does not add force to his denunciation of the boycott; but his denunciation of the boycott takes away all force from his denunciation of the blacklist.

Floundering around in the bogs of capitalist thought is the best description of Prof. John R. Commons' "Is Class Conflict Increasing in America?" The professor believes that "in thousands of small towns and villages" the laborers and servants "are not all in a position to provoke class feeling because the employer and his help work side by side and have close personal relations." What but sinking in the mire can be the outcome of such classification? Not personal relations, but economic relations, determine the interests and formations of classes. The economic position of a wage-earner is that of a commodity buffeted about according to the requirements of the labor market. And this situation exists in the small shop the same as in big industry. And the class conflict rages as far as the wage earners on one hand, and the profit takers on the other hand extend.

**THAT "MISTAKE"**

Louis E. Miller, the talented editor of the Yiddish "Warheit" of this city, editorializes on the 8th of this month extensively upon what to him seems a mistake, if not worse, committed by the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party in placing M. R. Preston at the head of its Presidential ticket. The following is the principal passage in the argument:

We desire to be understood. It is quite possible that we readily admit it, that Martin Preston, the Presidential candidate of the S. L. P., who was convicted for murder and sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment, is innocent. That he is one of the universally recognized victims of the class struggle who are justly the martyrs of progress is equally possible.

We admit all that as being very probable. And here we reach the main problems: May a Party of Socialism nominate a person of that kind? What is the object of a political campaign, and what must be the object of a party like the S. L. P. in such a campaign? Presumably its main object must be to carry on Socialist propaganda, and to increase the number of Socialists in the country, as well as the membership of the Party.

How can these things be accomplished? Simply by attacking the existing system, its principles and its consequent results. In order to successfully attack the capitalist system, and to equally successfully propagate Socialism, the candidates must be men of such caliber that their personal characteristics cannot be used against them in the battle, they should, at least, be no hindrance to the same.

It is the Alpha and Beta of propaganda everywhere, of agitation, argumentation and logic generally, not to multiply, but rather to simplify the issues in a campaign of ideas and a movement of ideas.

To be brief, Socialists have to tackle a difficult proposition in making the principles of Socialism comprehensible to the masses, leaving out the question of guilt or innocence of a man, who is guilty because of the large masses of people, because a jury of 12 citizens so decreed.

We will not mention the fact that Preston is below the legal age and therefore is ineligible for office. A party and a movement should not be so ridiculous as to nominate a candidate, who, even if elected, could not fill his office, because he has not reached the Constitutional age limit.

The S. L. P. has insisted of using the opportunity to attack CAPITALISM, will, in this campaign, BE OBLIGED TO DEFEND ITS OWN CANDIDATE.

This is neither the aim nor the mission of a candidate, and the Party should not have permitted it.

And the worst of it is that by their nominating Preston, not only the party that nominated him is put to ridicule, but the enemy will use this to ridicule and to discredit Socialism as a whole.

The Convention had the right to adopt resolutions condemning the imprisonment and extradition, demanding his liberation and expressing sympathy in every other way. To nominate him as a candidate, and thus convert the Socialist battle against capitalism into a defense for a convicted Socialist, that probably might be done under certain circumstances in certain countries, but not under American circumstances in America.

This is an instance that eminently illustrates the radical differences of opinion that may arise between men, at one on general principles, with regard to the practical application of the very principles which they hold in common.

With not one of the general principles set forth in the "Warheit" is the Daily People at variance.

With "Warheit" The People holds that the main object of a political party of Socialism must be to carry on Socialist propaganda.

With "Warheit" The People holds that Socialist propaganda must consist in attacking the existing system and exposing its phenomena.

With "Warheit" The People holds that the candidates of a political party of Socialism should be men whose personality rather assists, and never hinders, the propaganda.

Finally, with "Warheit" The People holds that a political party of Socialism has a difficult enough proposition to tackle in making the principles of Socialism comprehensible to the masses; consequently, that it should strive to simplify the issues in a campaign, avoid their multiplication, eschew ridiculousness, and manoeuvre to be on the aggressive and not place itself on the defensive.

Did the S. L. P. sid against any one of these tenets?

Let us take up, one by one, the tenets laid down by "Warheit" as canons for Socialist propaganda in a political campaign.

First of all, the propaganda should concentrate upon exposing the phenomena of the existing system.

There is one phenomenon of the existing system that embodies in itself at once Socialist economics, Socialist sociology, and Socialist practice; and that, moreover, is not, this year, a phenomenon that requires the raking up of history to exemplify. It is a palpitating phenomenon. It palpitates so strongly that it takes precedence of all others. That phenomenon of the present day system of capitalism is a Court-made law to the effect that picket-duty is a crime, and its enforcement by the imprisonment of a picketman in a State penitentiary.

Socialism consists of both aims and means. Socialist society, the goal of Socialist propaganda, is not a social system whose government consists of Socialist Legislators and Executives, instead of the present government of Republican and Democratic politicians. Socialist society is a social system whose central directing authority consists of representatives of all the useful occupations of the land. As its oft-given name—the Republic of Labor—indicates, Socialist society is a structure of organized Labor—productive Labor, distributive Labor, serviceable Labor; in other words, useful manual and intellectual effort.

Goals determine means. The New

Yorker who would go to Europe will not take a row-boat, such as would suffice to convey him across the Hudson River to Hoboken. He would take a sea-worthy ship, adequate to breast the storms of the ocean. The goal of Socialism—the Republic of Labor—predetermines the absolute necessity of the Union, that is, economic organization, to reach the goal by, and to construct the goal with. Useful, and even necessary, though the political action, or political organization of Labor is, the Union is indispensable. A Union that can not strike or boycott is a meek scarecrow on which the capitalist buzzard may safely roost. The strike, or boycott, requires the picket. It follows that no picket, no Union; no Union, no Socialist Republic. The blow that smites the picket smites the Union, and bars with the ruins the path to the Socialist goal.

The court-made law that smote Unionism was the recent rulings of a Court under whose guidance a picketman, who, in defence of his life against the picketed employer who assailed him murderously, shot his assailant dead, was sentenced for murder. Only a man engaged in a crime may not defend his life; only such a man is guilty of murder if he takes the life of an assailant. The conviction for murder, through the action of the Court in question, of a picketman who defended his life amounts to the enactment of a law decreeing picketing a crime. Again—no picket, no Union; no Union, no Socialism. The leading phenomenon of present capitalist society is this high-handed blow it dealt at Socialism by the blow it dealt at Unionism. Accordingly, tested by the test of the duty of a party of Socialism to attack the existing system and expose its phenomena, it was the duty of any political party of Socialism to raise the outrage and reactionary deed into the paramount issue of the national political campaign.—That duty the S. L. P. fulfilled.

The second tenet is that the candidates of a political party of Socialism should be men whose personality rather assists, and never hinders the propaganda.

The picketman, in whose person the outrageous and reactionary phenomenon of outlawing picketing and thus smiting Unionism was perpetrated, was M. R. Preston, now in a Nevada penitentiary. Thus, Preston is, just now, the incarnation of the essential Socialist principle that turns around the necessity of Unionism, active, militant Unionism. Accordingly, tested by the test of the requisite personal qualifications of a Socialist candidate, Preston was the candidate designated by the course of events as the ideal candidate in aid of Socialist propaganda. It was the duty of any political party of Socialism to raise him up as the symbol of its propaganda, by placing him at the head of its ticket.

The third tenet is to endeavor to simplify the issues, eschew ridiculousness, and manoeuvre for the aggressive instead of the defensive.

The nomination of Preston meets each of these requirements.

In Preston's nomination the issue is brought down to the simplest of essentials.

In Preston's nomination the ridiculous has no place. The outcry from the capitalistic camp sounds not a single note of hilarity.

In Preston's nomination Socialism is decidedly on the aggressive. Not a single note of aggressiveness could the sharpest ear detect in the capitalist howl. It is the howl of the rage of the wounded beast of prey—at bay, perhaps; aggressive, not at all.

For the very reasons, from the very principles so felicitously set forth by "Warheit," it follows as an irrefutable conclusion that, so far from having made a mistake, the S. L. P. acted with the brilliant unerringness that only wisdom coupled to experience and unswerving loyalty to Socialism, commands; whereas, on the contrary, the mistake, aye, and the ugly blunder, lies with the S. P. for not having dared to do what the S. L. P. proved itself possessed of the knowledge and intrepidity to dare, for even having wholly ignored Preston and Smith—and worse yet, for succumbing as the S. P. is manifestly succumbing, to the outcry of the foe.

A party of Socialism whose standard of propriety is left for the capitalist foe to set, and whom the capitalist foe can intimidate to the point of causing its knees to shake—such a party is bulk without body, sound without substance; it invites ridicule; it is put to the defensive; only it can throw "ridicule upon Socialism as a whole."

**AN EXCEPTIONAL OFFER.**

We would call the attention of book buyers to our exceptional offer of the work, "The New Harmony Movement," by George B. Lockwood, which we will send by mail at the low price of sixty-five cents. The book is cloth bound, 400 pages, illustrated, and is well worth reading.

New York Labor News Co.,  
28 City Hall Place,  
New York



**UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.**

UNCLE SAM—From what you say, about the old parties, I judge that you will not vote for either.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Neither I will.

U. S.—Then you will vote for the Socialist Labor Party?

B. J. (testily)—No, sir!

U. S.—Why not?

B. J.—Because I have no guarantee that they will not sell me out, just as the Republicans and Democrats have done regularly.

U. S.—You haven't?

B. J.—Have you any guarantee that, if elected, the Socialists will not be bribed as the Republicans and Democrats are, and sell out?

U. S.—Oh, I see.

B. J.—You agree with me?

U. S.—No, I don't know of a single Democratic or Republican politician who was ever bribed—

B. J.—You don't?

U. S.—No, I don't know of a single Democratic or Republican politician who was ever bribed and thereupon sold out to the working class.

B. J.—To the working class?!!

U. S.—Yes. Only such selling out as is in favor of the working class is worth considering.

B. J.—I don't know either of any of them who has ever sold out to the working class.

U. S.—And this is the only point to consider. They may be bribed among themselves, and may sell out to one another, but they never sell out to the working class. They are unbribable in that respect.

B. J.—Guess that's so.

U. S.—Consequently, for the same reason that they don't, the Socialists won't. The Democrats and Republicans represent the capitalist class, and never sell out that class; the Socialist Labor Party men represent the working class and they won't sell out that class. That is my guarantee. Do you want any better?

B. J.—No. But is that all?

U. S.—I have another guarantee. By the constitution of the Socialist Labor Party, no candidate can run for office unless he places his resignation into the hands of his organization. The moment his conduct is not approved he can be yanked out of office. Do you want more guarantee than that?

B. J.—That's complete.

U. S.—With the old parties, once elected, the official is boss. With us he remains our servant.

**CHANGE THIS SITUATION!**

It would seem that the Party membership has gone on a vacation, judging from the way subscriptions are coming in. The number of subs received so far this week has been meagre. There is no reason why this should be so. There is nothing the matter with the times so far as getting readers is concerned. Our press can be more easily circulated now than at any other time, and Presidential years are especially good for spreading our literature. The showings that are being made at open-air meetings prove this. We hope therefore that the comrades will realize that opportunities are offering that should not be let pass. Get after those whom you meet and secure their subscription. Help us out discharging our responsibility, by doing your share of the work.

The old stand-bys are steadily sending in their portion of new readers, but they must not be left by themselves to keep up the plant. Sections Cleveland, Tacoma, and Oakland have increased by 50 per cent, their bundle orders. Other sections can and should do likewise.

Comrade McShane of San Francisco, who has been rolling in subs ever since he took hold, writes that it is "dead easy; that all one must do is to go after them." We believe that is the right position to strike. Go after them, comrades, and keep after them. You may not get every one whom you try for, but you will get SOME.

To secure the DAILY PEOPLE regularly ORDER it from your newsdealer. As the paper is not returnable, your newsdealer must have a STANDING ORDER for it, or else they will not get it for you. INSIST ON GETTING IT.



# CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

## THE DIFFERENCE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The convention of the S. L. P. hit the nail on the head when it nominated Comrade M. R. Preston to head our ticket. That the capitalist class got hit in the right spot anybody can see by the howl they are raising. The capitalist class had nothing to say when the S. P. nominated E. V. Debs, but had the S. P. nominated Haywood the capitalist class might have raised a howl, too, because they don't like to see the heroes of the working class brought to the front.

Robert Strach.

San Antonio, Tex., July 12.

## PRESTON HEARD FROM IN GEORGIA

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A local paper published a few days ago the following news item:

## SOCIALIST IN JAIL; APPRECIATES HONOR.

Nominated as Presidential Candidate, Convict Sends Message of Thanks.

Carson, Nev., July 7.—M. R. Preston, who is serving a twenty-five years' sentence in the Nevada State prison for murder and who was nominated by the Socialist Labor party at New York for President of the United States, gave out the following interview from his cell yesterday. When the telegram announcing his nomination was handed him, he showed no surprise at the news:

"I am well known to members of my party," he said, "and am a Socialist from the ground up. While I am not at liberty to make a statement covering my nomination, owing to instructions from my counsel, Judge Hilton, I recognize the honor conferred upon me and am proud of it."

"If Mr. Hilton desires that I withdraw from the nomination I will ask that my name be taken from the ticket and some other substituted. I have not been officially notified of my nomination by the convention in New York, but will probably receive it in due time."

J. M. B.

Kingston, Ga., July 11.

## BISHOP A SPOKESMAN OF THE CRIMINAL CLASS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The "Scranton Times," of July 20, quotes Bishop Hoban on Socialism as follows:

"Socialism of the right kind is all right," said the bishop, "when it means that the one is interested in the welfare of the other and that one takes care of the other, but when it comes to be an atheistic Socialism it comes in conflict with the Catholic Church, and with Christianity."

Referring to Socialists in this community the bishop warned his auditors not to follow the will-o-the-wisp writings and teachings of that theory, particularly when it comes to voting. He expressed the belief that the working men would vote intelligently and without fear as their minds dictated. He commended the miners' union for its efforts to keep down child labor in the mines and factories and urged them to even greater effort.

In conclusion the bishop sounded this warning:

"I appeal to you as a Christian minister to do what you can against this Socialism which sooner or later will destroy our Christianity."

Bishop Hoban has just moved into his \$200,000 house, while some of his poor dupes who have been assessed to pay for it live in filthy hovels in which the bishop wouldn't even house his horses or dog. This man never loses a chance to hit at Socialists. He must have a glimpse at what is coming. He is quite a spokesman for the criminal class—the capitalists.

Scrantonian.

Scranton, July 21.

## WHY NOT SETTLE SCORES NOW?

To the Daily and Weekly People:—That editorial, "The Paramount Issue," in The People, July 10, was a grand presentation of the case in the matter of Preston and the S. L. P. Certain parts of it ought to be printed in foot-long letters and posted all over the principal cities of the U. S.

The comments of the capitalist papers on the S. L. P. nominations are very amusing reading. But still, close upon the laugh they provoke, follows the question: How much longer is the labor lion going to lie there, a target for the bolts of this capitalist ass? Would not the present occasion, the impending

## HOW THEY HOWL

Comments of the Capitalist Press on the Nomination of Preston.

[A pure invention from the Albany, N. Y., "Telegram" of July 12.]

## CONVICT REFUSES.

Will Not Run for President of the United States.

The members of the Socialist Labor Party in New York city were astounded, shocked and angered Wednesday night because after having nominated Martin R. Preston for president he has declined the honor.

Preston is a convict, now in Carson State Prison for having shot and killed a restaurant keeper.

"The man must run," roared Daniel De Leon, the leader of the party. "Whoever heard of any one refusing a Presidential nomination? Preston must be made to understand that he stands a splendid chance of winning. If all the workmen in the United States would vote for him, he would be elected."

Mr. De Leon paused and drank a glass of beer which an admirer had placed temptingly before him.

"We must compel him to run," continued the earnest party leader; "we must explain to him that he can remain in seclusion, while we will do the campaigning for him."

"Then, this is the chance of our lives. I already see the start of the social revolution with Preston as our candidate. We must urge him to run with all the vehemence in our power."

"Gentlemen, it is all plain to me. The capitalist bloodhounds have been at work. They don't want to see a Socialist seated in the White House, and their base hirelings have forced our candidate to write a letter of declination. They probably put him through the third degree and forced him to do so."

"The capitalist class will stop at nothing to defeat us."

The leaders of the party then got busy and the telegraph wires grew hot with pleadings to the candidate engaged in breaking stones in the prison yard, to change his mind. Another pleading despatch was sent to the candidate's mother, who lives in Los Angeles. It requested her to plead with her son to make the race, "as he surely would be elected."

Half an hour later Mr. De Leon appeared with a satchel as if he was going to make a long trip. It was rumored that he intended to go to Carson City to make a personal appeal to the candidate, but Mr. De Leon became mysterious and would not divulge his destination. He admitted that the Socialists had received a hard blow if Preston persisted in his refusal.

The reasons given by Preston why he does not want to be the party's candidate is, first, that he is only twenty-eight years old and therefore not eligible to run, as the candidate for President must be thirty-five; second that a convict has no civil rights, and third, that while he has been convicted and sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment by the lower court his case is now on appeal and he stood a chance of getting out of prison on a new trial.

"Besides," said Preston to a friend in refusing the nomination, "the Socialists only nominated me because I am in prison and want to make capital out of me. If I hadn't shot a man in self-defence, and if I wasn't in jail, they would not have given me a thought. Run? Yes, after I have been vindicated."

The Socialist Labor Party's executive committee has the right to name a candidate in the place of Preston but all the members declared Wednesday night that they would not give up Preston without a struggle.

The Debs Socialists, who have nominated Eugene V. Debs for President, rejoiced because Preston had declined. Preston, they said, showed good sense by his action.

## MURDER AS A POLITICAL ASSET.

In nominating for the Presidency of the United States Martin R. Preston, a convicted murderer and below the constitutional age of eligibility, the Socialist Labor Party has given the editorial writers of the country an opportunity for levity seldom granted in so strenuous a political year. Yet the nomination, as the New York "Tribune" remarks, was not intended as a joke, but was the act of men "bitterly in earnest." Despite the nominee's refusal to accept the honor offered him by his party, the press finds reason to comment at some length upon the spirit which prompted the offer.

Martin Preston is now undergoing a sentence of twenty-five years' imprisonment at Goldfield, Nev., for killing a restaurant keeper there some three years ago. The man had incurred the displeasure of a labor union by discharging some waiter-girls, in defiance of union rules. A boycott was pronounced upon

his place, and Preston was stationed as a "picket" to enforce the boycott. Trouble ensued, and that Preston shot and killed the restaurant-keeper is undoubted; but the Socialist-Laborites hold that the act was in self-defence and justified.

"It is a burlesque on Socialism and resembles real Socialism as much as a Maine sardine the genuine French article," is the comment of the Brooklyn "Citizen" upon the nomination. "Preston is the freak candidate of all history," the Cleveland "Leader" remarks, and the New York "Post" believes "that to have killed a restaurant-keeper in the interests of labor is the very latest thing in Presidential qualifications." In speaking further of the trifling task of overcoming these obstacles "The Leader" says:

"If Mr. Preston could be elected and have a chance to qualify as President he could not pardon himself because he was convicted under State, not Federal, laws. And if he could be pardoned he could not qualify. To make him President he would have to be dynamited out of jail while the Constitution was burned by his friends."

This contingency, however, had already been sighted and met by the delegate who put Mr. Preston in nomination. In the spirit of Timothy Campbell's "What's the Cor situation between friends?" he said in part:

"Although Preston is not of the age provided in the Constitution for a Presidential candidate, that makes no difference to us. It is for the working people to elect him, and if he is elected he will be seated. Constitutions are for the people, and not the people for the constitutions."

The "Daily People," the official organ of the Socialist-Labor Party, in commenting upon the Presidential ticket, hailed it as a "slogan at the sound of which every workman should be fired with enthusiasm." It went on to say: "It is a summons to every bona-fide unionist to rush to the support of his fellow unionist who is thrown in jail by class justice for his firmness on the firing line."

"It is a warning against the evils of pure and simple politicianism."

"It is a symbol of the double weapon that the well-poised revolutionist in the camp of the Labor Movement uses in the class struggle with the capitalist class—the weapon of the ballot, and the weapon of man's natural rights of physical force in self-defence."

"It is an attestation of the untarnished posture of the Socialist-Labor Party—the promotion of the emancipation of the Working Class by all available means."

"The nomination is interesting," says the Philadelphia "Ledger," "from the glimpse it gives us into the mental attitude of certain groups of agitators who find the highest claim to distinction in lawlessness and crime." Adds the same paper: "The spirit it illustrates—the spirit displayed at Goldfield, and of which Haywood is a hero—is the same that finds expression in resolutions to restrain the authority of the courts."

The Philadelphia "Inquirer" (Rep.), taking a more serious view of the matter than most of its contemporaries, finds "something pitiful" about the nomination, representing as it does a "faction of people who may mean well, but who are wrong in their philosophy." To quote further:

"The Socialist-Labor party cast about 32,000 votes about four years ago, and these represented a lot of dissatisfied people who thought the country was being ruined by its leaders and that society was built on a false basis. There were more votes cast in 1900, and what the number will be this November is problematical, but is not likely to reach a greater figure than four years ago. These people are not to be condemned out of hand or laughed at. They have a grievance which seems to them so important as to override all other considerations in politics."

"It is a condition that has always existed and which goes back historically to the Cave of Adullam. There are always with us the unfortunate, the miserable, the people in debt, and those who see little ahead for them under existing conditions. Their effort to improve their situation is not to be sneered at, but to be treated with kindness and to be treated with kindness and consideration. The Socialist-Labor platform is based on antipathy to capitalism of every sort, which it holds has captured in its own interests the school, the Church, and the professions. It wants more than Karl Marx ever demanded. It thinks there is no property except in labor, and that an equal distribution according to the amount of labor (by which it seems to mean largely manual labor) of all the property in the country is the only solution of the many ills that flesh is heir to."

"This is not new in theory nor has there ever lacked a number of honest men who have thought that this distribution was for the general good. It is chimerical, of course, and it is destined to constant failure until the world is absolutely changed and human nature put on a new basis."

The Socialist-Labor party, as the New

York "Tribune" explains, represents "the dwindling remnant of the earlier converts to the faith in this country," and its spirit is one of protest against the comparatively conciliatory attitude of the more numerous and powerful Socialist party which polled more than 400,000 votes for its candidate in 1904. But to the ordinary man, adds the "Tribune," there seems little practical difference between the two parties. To quote further:

"That the other Socialists should have debated about nominating Haywood, and that nearly half of the delegates to their national convention felt that nothing short of Haywood would adequately express their feeling toward organized government, shows how little real progress the Socialists who have split off from the old irreconcilables led by De Leon have made toward common sense. That is the reason why the ideas of Socialism have spread in this country while the Socialist party stands practically still. It invariably nominates candidates whom only a Socialist, and one of a very irreconcilable sort, could support at the polls, and that is not the way to win votes."—The Literary Digest.

The national committee of the Socialist Labor Party, which has been turned down by Martin R. Preston, the convict, who in a private telegram to Daniel De Leon, leader of his party, declined his nomination for President of the United States, decided yesterday not to take "no" for an answer and to run Preston for candidate anyway.

An official statement on behalf of the Socialist Labor Party says in part:

"To-day the compact battalion of the Socialist Labor Party, with Preston and Munro inscribed on its banner, takes its stand, intrepid, on the field of this year's presidential contest, cheered by the howls emitted by the manifold foe. So much the better. Let them howl; the louder the merrier."

"With Taft's convention rapped to order by a fatal thirteen strokes of the gavel, and Bryan's nomination made on the fatal Friday, honors may seem easy on that score to the apprehensive watcher for omens. Yet if a bird's eye view is taken of the two omens, the coincidence cannot be escaped or its significance lost sight of. Both the Republican and Democratic parties are marked and carrion crows are hovering over them."—The Evening Wisconsin, Mil., July 15.

## THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Just what the Socialist Labor party is composed of in general, and just what it expects to accomplish we do not exactly know. Judging from some things we hear, however, it must be a peculiar party.

In the first place we understand that it has a presidential candidate who is in the penitentiary for killing a man. It is true that he killed his man in a labor dispute and the allegation is made that he killed him in self-defence. The courts, however, did not see it that way, and the man was sent to serve a sentence for a long period, of which twenty years are yet to be served. In addition to that, this man put forward as a candidate for the highest position in the land, some believe in the world, is not of legal age prescribed by the Constitution, namely, thirty-five years of age. It is not known whether he is further disqualified by nature or the constitution or laws of the land. Suffice it to say that if he has other constitutional impediments to be taken into account it is highly probable that each fresh unconstitutionality will give delight to the queer party of which he is a member. To give him credit, however, it can be stated that he has had the sense to resign from the ticket for two reasons, one is his belief that the Socialist Labor party is trading on his situation to make capital for the party, and another is because it would be likely to jeopardize his chances for release in the campaign his lawyers are making for commutation for him.

But the most singular proceeding of this peculiar party is told as follows in an United Press telegram under date of July 11, from Providence, R. I.: "Few are the men who have refused a nomination to run for the office of President of the United States. The latest addition to the ranks of those who have put aside the crown is Peter McDermott, of this city."

McDermott drives a team for a local grocery. He was working in the store when a man entered and asked him to run for President on the Socialist-Labor ticket. McDermott refused and said, besides, that he was ineligible, having been born in Scotland. The man who was national secretary, Paul Augustine, of the party, told him that that made no difference, that the profession of Socialism and the personality of the candidate was what counted."

Now this is somewhat peculiar and is only matched by the performance with the convict in a western penitentiary of whom one of the leaders of the party said that it made no difference what the constitution said, this man would be seated anyhow if elected. The central idea in this whole matter

## LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

A. E. B., NEW YORK—"Dun's" and "Bradstreet's" are purely private concerns. If they report one injuriously, an action for damages would lie; if they report one more favorably than he deserves, and others are taken in, the parties taken might recover at law, but that is more doubtful. Their method is "mousing around."

W. R., SEATTLE, WASH.—Now to your last question—

The last Census gives 24,326 Japanese in the United States. The number of them "in business" we have no means of ascertaining.

J. W., EVERETT, MASS.—"Mr." is the abbreviation for "Mister." "Mister" is a corruption of the word "Master." With time the corrupted form has acquired the simple meaning of a meaningless title of common address. "Mrs." is the feminine abbreviation.

J. B. J., CHICAGO, ILL.—Preston's age is not a matter that deserves serious consideration. Debs is more than twice his age and will certainly not enter the White House. A miss is as good (bad) as a mile along the "get there" argument.

W. A. S., SYDNEY, N. S. W.—Now to your last questions, which may be lumped into one—

The S. L. P. recognizes only language Federations, that is, Federations in languages other than English. The Irish Socialist Federation, or, rather the pretence of one, is nothing of the sort. It was a clownish scheme of James Connolly, with a record for wreck and ruin in his own country, Ireland, whence he recently arrived to disrupt the S. L. P. When he found the jig was up with him and he dropped the mask and came out for the anti-I. W. W. Socialist party, the unsuspecting but honest ones of his own race who had joined him gave him square pieces of their minds. One of them said: "All that De Leon said about you is true, and a good deal more." Another of his countrymen, one who was onto him from the start, H. Cody of Paraiso, Canal Zone, wrote to him a letter that closed with these words: "I only wish that the O'Donnell family at home raised more sons, and the Carey family less. What are you trembling for?"

A. T., CINCINNATI, O.—The "Black Hand" is one thing; another thing is the "Black Hundred." The "Black Hand" is an organization of terrorists here in America, with no object other than to terrorize dealers; it is essentially a blackmailing concern, with no political purposes in view. The "Black Hundred" is a Russian organization of assassins, organized in the interest of the Czar's regime.

D. S., SAN JOSE, CAL.—Well, it is significant, and a warning withal against sentimentalism. It is a significant fact that the Christian Socialist organization should have joined the Socialist party just as that party slapped the "brotherhood of man" in the face by taking a backward rap on the back to Guy Miller's tune of "the hordes of Europe." Sentimentalism is an unreliable guide.

T. V. J., PITTSBURG, PA.—This office is not in the councils of the Socialist party. We should say, however, that the reason Haywood is not the Presidential candidate of the S. P. is that the S. P. was afraid of seeming too radical. It wants to look "decent."

seemed to be studied disrespect for the constitution and an effort to emphasize contempt for the law. It is not enough to set up a jail bird as a grinning parody on the highest position in the land and one of the most exalted and respected positions on the face of the earth only exceeded in the eyes of hundreds of millions of earth's inhabitants by the position of supreme pontiff at Rome, and not equalled by many of the positions beneath a crown.

If this travesty on honor and exalted position were originated and upheld by a colony of gibbering idiots it would be readily understood, but upheld and encouraged by a presumably intelligent body of workmen is certainly hard, for us, at least, to understand. The Socialist-Labor party in many other respects seems level-headed, especially in their antagonism to the regular Socialist party, with whom they are at swords points.

The utterances of the Socialist-Labor party seem to be fairly sane in some respects, though the doctrine taught is and ought to be thoroughly repugnant

G. W., WACO, TEX.—There is no sense in spending time confounding crooks. Crooks are well aware of their crookedness. As to all others, if they are not crook-proof, what are they fit for but to be dupes?

F. W. A., WORCESTER, MASS.—The compliment is welcome. Only, never forget that the S. L. P. is building for the future. It follows inevitably that the S. L. P. requires no effort to cause it to lay aside the prospect of present "success" at the expense of future collapse.

R. H. P., DENVER, COLO.—A pessimist has been defined as a person who has met an optimist. Socialists may, perhaps, be open to the charge of pessimism against social conditions; but, if the charge is just, then the equally just charge must be implied of optimism by the capitalist class. "Action compensates reaction."

J. S., MANCHESTER, ENG.—Engels' "Socialism from Utopia to Science," which is translated into English, is a chapter from his book against Duhring. The whole book we are not aware is translated into English.

S. A. S., WYLLAM, ALA.—Now to your second question—Mormonism pre-eminently illustrates the Marxian dictum to the effect that religion is the reflex of the material conditions that need such reflexes.

Mormonism makes 99 per cent of its converts among the poor whom it promises, and substantially keeps the promise, to set up with land and the means to labor. That polygamy is so closely interwoven with Mormonism accentuates the point. Mormonism, through polygamy, insures the women whom it proselytizes against the grievances and shame of prostitution, or the alternative privations—mental, spiritual and physical—of a spinster's life.

See on the general subject the answer given to Harriet Lothrop by the speaker (Page 24 of address "Socialism vs. Anarchism").—Get same from Labor News, 28 City Hall Place, this city.

P. S. A., ROCKLAND, VT.—Taft is "a fat man." Bryan is rather "a lean and hungry Cassius." As far as that goes Taft is the weaker man of the two; but the economic law gathers strong men around Taft, the present head and front of raw-boned capitalism! whereas, the obverse of the same economic law gathers weak men around Bryan, the central figure of the capitalist cave of Adullam. The real ticket is Preston and Munro. There principle and manhood are combined.

H. B., MILWAUKEE, WIS.—The Landauer known to this office turned up about 15 years ago in the Labor Movement of Germany as an Anarchist, whose stock in trade was the dissemination of slander against the German Social Democracy.

C. H. C., NEW YORK.—The correction of Preston's occupation was made in the Weekly.

F. O. J., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.: S. B. H., GRAND JUNCTION, COLO.: R. H. S., GRAND JUNCTION, COLO.: B. R., BUFFALO, N. Y.: T. J., EVANSVILLE, IND.: J. W. Mc., ALTOONA, PA.: J. W., EVERETT, MASS.: M. S., PROVIDENCE, R. I.: C. W. P., ESSEX, ENGLAND: L. C. H., LOS ANGELES, CAL.: G. A. M., TORONTO, CAN.—Matter received.

to every free-born American citizen. For instance, when in its national convention in New York, June 14, 1900, it said: "The Socialist-Labor party of the United States in convention assembled reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," it seemed sane. But when it invites the "wage workers of the United States and all other honest citizens to organize under the banner of the Socialist-Labor party into a class conscious body aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public power, etc." we are not so sure.

But then there were fewer than forty thousand in that election and the vote has not enlarged much since that time, so there is little danger that the western convict or the eastern grocery driver would have much chance to guide the policies of the nation. And it is believed that but very few of the fewer than fifty thousand Socialist-Labor party members are afflicted with the extreme views noted above.—"Dayton Herald," July 20.



## OFFICIAL

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Paul Augustine, National Secretary.  
28 City Hall Place.  
CANADIAN S. L. P.  
National Secretary, W. D. Forbes,  
12 Wellington Road, London, Ont.,  
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.  
(The Party's literary agency.)  
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.  
Notice—For technical reasons no party  
announcements can go in that are  
not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p.m.

## CONNECTICUT S. E. C.

The S. E. C. of the S. L. P. of Connecticut met at headquarters, 34 Elm street, Hartford, Conn., on July 26. Chas. Backofen of Rockville was elected chairman.

The credentials of the following comrades were accepted and the delegates seated:

Fred Fellermann, Frank Knotek of Hartford, Chas. Backofen of Rockville. The first order of business was election of officers. The following officers were elected: Secretary-Treasurer, Fred Fellermann; Recording Secretary, Frank Knotek.

The following communications were received, acted on and filed:

From Section Mystic, sending financial report and order for due stamps.

From Section Rockville, regarding the delegate to S. E. C., and inquiring of the benefit to be held.

From Section New Haven, regarding state ticket; that J. P. Johnson of was elected organizer of New Haven, and including \$3 for due stamps.

From N. E. C., regarding Presidential ticket.

The Secretary was instructed to notify all Sections regarding the new election law.

The following motion was carried: "As Sections New Britain and Kensington were twice requested to send delegates to the S. E. C., and did not, therefore Section Hartford and Rockville each should send one delegate more."

It was voted to hold regular meetings every third Monday each month, at 8 p. m., at Headquarters, 34 Elm street, Hartford, Conn.

The Secretary was instructed to write to the National Secretary regarding a speaker to make a tour throughout the state in October. Campaign agitation was discussed, after which the meeting adjourned.

Frank Knotek, Recording Sec'y.

## GERMAN PARTY ORGAN OPERATING FUND.

Previously acknowledged ..... \$295.05  
Fred Schuler, Paraiso, C. Z., ..... 1.00  
Panama ..... 1.00  
Carl Bertler, Paraiso, C. Z., Panama ..... 1.00  
Section Erie, Pa., S. L. P. .... 10.00  
Section Cincinnati, O. .... 5.00  
German Branch, Chicago, proceeds from picnic ..... 20.00  
Peter Carlson, Sandusky, O. .... 50  
Emil Miller, Cincinnati, O. .... 1.00  
I. Hertz, Minneapolis, Minn. .... 1.00  
O. F. Elmgren, " " ..... 25  
Peter Riel, " " ..... 25  
James McCall, Yellowstone Park, Wyoming ..... 2.00  
Per P. Kilburg, Detroit, Mich.: Frank Mueller, \$1.00; Andrew Buetz, \$1.00; Geo. Tychelesky, \$1.00; Georg Kwetzer, \$1.00; G. I. Le Brun, 50c; Jacob Lutz, 25c; Max Heinrich, 25c; Heinrich Corning, 25c. .... 5.25  
Julius Rucker, Shawnee, O. .... 1.00  
Wm. Richter, Middletown, Conn. .... 1.00  
Christ G. Huebner, " " ..... 1.00  
Total ..... \$345.90

Comrades: In a circular letter which we have sent out to the Sections we have set forth that the further continuation and existence of our German Party Organ depends upon the possibility of paying off, within three months, an old debt of \$600. All details have been explained in the circular sent out. For the last four years we have not molested the general party membership for any financial aid. Whenever we needed some funds we have appealed to the German party organizations exclusively. But pressing circumstances force us to extend this appeal now to the general party membership. If every comrade does a little towards this fund the task of raising these \$600 will be an easy one. The Sections and comrades always have responded nobly to any call from the party institutions for help. We realize that this is not a very opportune time for our call but we see no other way but this appeal. Quick action is imperative. Send all contributions either direct to the SOCIALISTISCHE ARBEITER-ZEITUNG, 319 CHAMPLAIN AVE., CLEVELAND, O., or to Comrade P. C. CHRISTIANSEN, 2617 BRANTON ROAD, CLEVELAND, O. Appeal endorsed by the N. E. C. Sub-Committee.

The German Party Press Publication Committee, Section Cleveland, O., S. L. P.

## OPERATING FUND.

Comrades and Friends:—You will see by the poor record of subscriptions and literature orders, in another column, that we are forced to again urge upon you the necessity of helping out on this fund. As we have before, time and again, said, funds must be forthcoming in either of two ways: by subscriptions to the party press, or by contributions of cash to this fund.

We cannot go out and get the subscriptions, we must leave that to you; and of each of you all that is asked is one subscription a month—one reader to be brought in touch with the Weekly people every thirty days. Not an impossible task, is it? Not even a hard task. In fact, we have yet to hear from anyone who will say that it is not a comparatively easy matter to get one new reader a month. If you haven't tried it begin now—if you won't try it and yet you wish to see those institutions go on, then support this fund.

F. Tiddy, Westernport, Md.	\$3.00
S. Thompson, New York City	1.00
Geo. F. Spettel, St. Paul, Minn.	2.00
Dr. Jue. Hammer, New York City	2.00
Holger Schmalfuss, Pittsfield, Mass.	\$1.00
John Perz, Ferndale, Wn.	1.00
L. Pilout, N. Y. City	.50
T. McDermott, San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
E. Rouner, Shawmut, Cal.	2.00
A. C. Wirtz, Barstow, Cal.	3.00
Section Los Angeles, Cal.	
Proceeds of 4th July Picnic	\$20.00
J. Levey, Los Angeles, Cal.	.35
P. C. Peterson, " "	1.00
L. D. Bechtel, " "	.50
M. Wheeler, " "	.50
L. C. Haller, " "	.35
J. J. Melghan, Coytesville, N. J.	2.00
Total	\$ 42.00
Previously acknowledged	2,529.44
Grand Total	\$2571.44

Through a typographical error on July 25, 1908, E. T. Ostley, Plainfield, N. J., was credited with \$2 instead of \$1. The total, however, is now correct.

[We have been informed that \$9.75 credited to G. C. McShane, on July 18, was donated by Comrade Porter of San Francisco, Cal., instead.]

## JERSEY CITY, N. J.

Open-air meetings will be held every SATURDAY evening, at Newark Ave. and Barrow St. until the close of the campaign.

## Campaign Committee.

## CLEVELAND, ATTENTION!

The Socialist Leidschaft, S. L. P., will hold its annual picnic SUNDAY, August 2nd, at Rittersburg, Brooklyn. Take Brooklyn or West 23rd street car to car barns, then walk, or ride for 5 cents on bus out State road. All members and sympathizers and their families are cordially invited. Good music and refreshments will be provided.

## The Arrangements Committee.

## LONDON LETTER.

(Continued from page 1.)

verberations of that victory have gone, like a thunderclap, through the whispering galleries of the East. They have produced the Progressive Movement in China, the Constitutional Movement in Persia, the Revolutionary Movement in Russia, and almost the whole of the activity manifested in different parts of Central Asia.

To meet this situation was the purpose of the Anglo-Russian Convention. The Liberal British Government, hoping to save the lot of its capitalist class in India, seeks alliance with the most brutal and despotic government on the earth, but this will not stay the "unrest" in the Orient.

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## ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT

## POOR SHOWING FOR THE WEEK, BUT OUTLOOK BRIGHT.

For the week ending July 24th we received 75 subs to the Weekly and 30 to the Daily People, a showing so poor that it requires no mathematical training to arrive at our net cash income for the week from this source. Now that the campaign has commenced it behooves every chairman at street meetings to consider himself an authorized canvasser for the Party Press and close no meeting until a fair number of subs has been secured. Who will set the pace?

Those sending two or more were:

A. Kaucher, St. Louis, Mo.	3
Fred Brown, Cleveland, Ohio	2
A. Carm, Chicago, Ill.	4
E. J. Morin, Duluth, Minn.	2
E. T. Holmes, Chicago, Ill.	2
R. W. Stevens, Baltimore, Md.	3
Geo. Reuter, Hoquiam, Wash.	2
D. G. O'Hanrahan, Seattle, Wash.	5
F. Kramer, Milwaukee, Wis.	2
E. Norling, Pasco, Wash.	3
J. A. Leach, Phoenix, Ariz.	3
M. Eisenberg, Cincinnati, O.	2
H. E. Long, San Francisco, Cal.	2
C. A. Johnson, Oakland, Cal.	3
Press Committee, Boston, Mass.	2
A. Gillhaus, Tacoma, Wash.	2
L. Olsson, Tacoma, Wash.	4

## Prepaid Cards:

Mrs. O. M. Johnson, Fruitvale, Cal.	\$7.00
Section Spokane, Wash.	5.00
Section Denver, Colo.	10.00
S. Winauer, N. Y. City	5.00

Literature sales have dropped off considerably. Remember that the profits derived from this source are one of the mainstays of the Party's institution. Don't let up in pushing the where-withall to make converts.

Jamaica Plains, Mass.	\$3.50
Webb City, Mo.	2.50
Indianapolis, Ind.	2.10
Spokane, Wash.	1.75
Pittsfield, Mass.	1.50
Chicago, Ill.	2.00
Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00
Coytesville, N. J.	1.00
Canton, Ohio	1.00
Fruitvale, Cal.	4.00
Peoria, Ill.	5.00
Cincinnati, O.	4.20
Blind River, Canada	1.20
Grand Junction, Colo.	4.00
Brooklyn, N. Y.	12.00
Adamsville, Ala.	1.00
Rossland, Canada	1.00
New York City	3.10

## CAN GOMPERS DELIVER THE LABOR VOTE?

"The Republicans turned us down at Chicago," says Mr. Gompers, "while the Democrats at Denver met us fairly and squarely"; and he gives further evidence of his approval of the labor and injunction plank in the Democratic platform by assuring Mr. Bryan that the labor vote will be counted heavily for him at the November election. The question as to just how far Mr. Gompers can really fulfill this promise is at present troubling the political experts, and the lesser labor leaders are showing signs of resentment over the suggestion that the president of the American Federation of Labor can "deliver" the labor vote.

"Already Mr. Gompers is learning the mistake of counting unattached chickens," remarks the New York "Globe" (Rep.), adding that "labor leaders with as good warrant as he to speak for trade unions are ridiculing his claims." "Our vote will not be dictated by Gompers," says John E. Pritchard, secretary of the International Union of Pavers, Hammermen, Flaggers, Bridge and Stone-Curb-setters. "Gompers can not influence the votes of the organized workers to any extent," says Henry C. Hunter, commissioner of the National Metal Trades Association. "The labor men who are Republicans will vote the Republican ticket, and the Democrats the Democratic ticket," says James W. Dougherty, secretary-treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

The Brooklyn "Times" (Rep.) finds Mr. Gompers' "assumption" amusing. Even in England, Mr. Gompers' native country, it asserts, "no labor leaders have ventured so audacious a claim." The Chicago "Daily Socialist," arguing in part with the "Times," proceeds to take Mr. Gompers to task for presuming that the Democratic party will fulfill its vows. "Gompers, abegging and receiving crumbs, and smirking with contentment at the receipt, well symbolizes the gentleman's triple office of 'president,' 'editor' and last, not least, 'undertaker' of the civic-federated system of unionism," is the curt comment with which the "Daily People," the official organ of the Socialist Labor party, dismisses the subject.

"Election history gives no warrant for the assumption that Mr. Gompers' declaration for Bryan could transfer the tremendous mass of voters in the Federation of Labor to one side of the political line," says the Philadelphia "Ledger" (Ind. We read further: "In the records of States and cities there are few instances where the boasts of leaders have been sustained where they have undertaken to carry labor-unions bodily to one side of a political contest. The showing is the other way; rather proves that when a labor leader becomes a politician he passes rapidly

into insignificance—Feeney is the illustration of the moment. When he became the agent of the machine in Philadelphia politics he ceased to be a potent influence in labor-union affairs. It has happened a hundred times in American cities that a capable man has been strong in union matters as long as he devoted himself to labor subjects, and has fallen into nothingness when he has tried to capitalize politically his union influence. Union-labor members are exactly like other men in their resentment of a presumption that they can be used by a boss; can be deceived and delivered by a leader who may, for vanity or a price, undertake to hand over their votes."

The New York "Press" (Rep.), in dealing more specifically with the motive which might possibly consolidate the labor vote for Bryan, comments as follows:

"We have no doubt that organized labor at large would like to see the injunction so modified that it could not be used by employers to protect them from some of the practices of labor when in conflict with them, particularly in the matter of judicial interference with strikes. There is every indication that the unions are determined to press this matter upon the attention of Congress and the other branches of the Government until some process more satisfactory to them than the long-established one is adopted. Nevertheless, every wage-earner who is capable of thinking clearly—and the members of the trades who because of their skill receive high pay, WHEN THERE IS WORK FOR THEM TO PERFORM, have heads on their shoulders which are very level—knows that the most important thing to him, as to the country, is that first of all there should be employment for him. He may want his injunction ideas carried out, but he wants his work more. The one is desirable; the other is necessary. The injunction modification would be worth nothing at all to him without work and wages; he knows that he and his family can live well at their usual employment and pay without the desired injunction change."

So far the Democratic press have been markedly reticent on the subject of Mr. Gompers' ability to rally the labor vote to the succor of Democracy. Mr. Herman Ridder, editor of the New York "Staats-Zeitung," who has recently dropped his hostility toward Bryan and is actively espousing his cause, admits that the party which polls that vote will be the victor in November. Two million votes—the number represented by the membership of the American Federation of Labor—would have been about half a million too few to have changed the result in 1904.—"Literary Digest."

## CHILDREN'S HOUR

Dear Little Comrades:—

You remember the story of "The White Rabbit," which you were asked to write on?

Lord Pelham on his way from London to his country home, late one afternoon, is suddenly stopped by a man who had hidden between some trees.

"Will you buy my little white rabbit?" asks he of Lord Pelham. Twice Lord Pelham indifferently refuses. But when the man points a pistol at Lord Pelham he replies, "Well, since you put it that way, I guess I do want it." Lord Pelham makes out a note for a thousand pounds and goes home with the white rabbit.

Ten years later, Lord Pelham passes a jeweler's shop in London and recognizes his friend who sold him the white rabbit so much by force. The next evening he appears before the jeweler with a little white rabbit in a basket in one hand, and this time HE points a weapon at the jeweler, asking him to buy his white rabbit. The jeweler realizes that this time he is powerless and pays Lord Pelham the price asked, 1,500 pounds principal and interest.

Now, you were asked to compare the man who sold the white rabbit, Lord Pelham, and their weapons with the working class, capitalist and weapons used by each in turn, first by the capitalists in forcing the workers to work at their price, and then again later when the working class rise to reclaim what belongs to them.

Below you have two of the best made comparisons.

Now, you little readers may judge which is the more correct of the two, and drop a postal with your opinion, to this department.

We also have a good letter from Bina Flynn, and next week a very good composition from her sister Katherine will appear.

Now, little readers of the "Children's Hour," keep up the good work; let no number appear without at least one or two contributions from yourselves. It is your fight we older ones are fighting, and here is a chance to do your share right now. "He would be free, himself must strike the blow."

Again let me ask you to always write on only one side of the paper, give your address and age, and thus help out.

Your loving

AUNT ANNETTA.

Dear Aunt Annetta:—

I read over your little story about "The White Rabbit," and thought about it a great deal.

Here are my answers to the questions concerning it:

I compared Lord Pelham to a capitalist because he is rich. I would call the poor man selling rabbits one of the wage slave class. The poor man was in need of the money and had probably no other means of getting it, and the rich man had more than he needed.

"Discharge" is the weapon used in wage slavery. The working class must work or starve. It sees starvation.

The working class is striving to overcome the capitalists as this man was. I wish it were as easy as it is in the story.

Your loving little friend,

Lucie Seavey,

Eureka, Cal.

P. S.—I should like to see other answers.

Dear Aunt Annetta:—

In the story of the "Little White Rabbit" I would compare Lord Pelham to the working class and the man with the rabbit to the capitalist class. The pistol with which the man compels Lord Pelham to buy his rabbit is the whip of Starvation which is ever before the working class. With this weapon the capitalists force the working class to work for the benefit of themselves at whatever price their masters choose to

offer them.

In the second part I would compare Lord Pelham to the working class when they wake up and learn their strength. Then their weapon will be Union in fighting for their rights. I mean in united efforts to get back from the capitalists all that's coming to them, the earth and all that is in it or upon it.

Your loving comrade,  
Louise Miller,  
Jamaica N. Y.

## THE OVERFLOW.

A little bird woke suddenly,  
And burst out into song.  
The glad, sweet notes it caroled forth,  
Were heard the whole day long.

For when it raised its little voice  
And sung so cheerily,  
A dozen other songsters near  
Woke up and sang with glee

And soon the birds for miles around  
Were echoing that song;  
Now here, now there, the chorus rose  
And ever rolled along.

Somehow that woodland happiness  
Found way to haunts of men;  
Reflected in bright faces there,  
Its beauty glowed again.

And so the sweetness and the joy  
Of that first waking bird  
Were, here and there, the livelong day,  
Continuously heard.

Thus life flows on to more and more  
And larger sympathy,  
And souls feed on the overflow  
Of souls that may not see.

## AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

We are in receipt of a design in water colors of "The Red Flag" and the ideas of Freedom, Work, etc., which it symbolizes, from our little comrade from East New Market, Ind., Ronald C. Coursen. While we regret not being able to reproduce it for the other little comrades to see, yet we thank him very much and hope the spirit moves him ever onward in our glorious cause. Let's hear from you often, Comrade Ronald. Send a story, song or poem and we'll give it space in the "Children's Hour." Courage!

## SOCIALISM DISCUSSED.

Dear Aunt Annetta:—

The other evening some little friends and I were talking about Socialism and Socialists, when one spoke up and said: "What do Socialists do?" So I started in to tell the little I knew of Socialism.

First I told them a little saying I heard downtown at a meeting: "If my brother is so much my brother why should I stand idly and watch him work?" When I had told them that, I said, "You know that everybody in this world is supposed to be a brother or sister to everybody else; and that applies to the capitalists, standing and watching the working class work."

Another point I brought up is: Why shouldn't we have the silk, the hats, the shoes and clothing that our fathers made?

Another thing, suppose one man made clothing, and another raised grain, and the man that made clothing made enough for the other man and himself, the other man raised grain enough for both himself and the man who produced clothing, I think it would be all right if they would supply each other with these necessities. The girls agreed with me.

When I was all finished one of them said, "Don't you think women should vote? I do."

"Yes," said I. "Who told you that?"

"No one. I knew that."

It was now time to go to bed, and the minute this little girl got upstairs she went right to her father and said,

"What are you, papa?"

"A Democrat."

"Whom will you vote for next election?"

"The Democrats," was the answer. "Papa, why don't you vote for Socialism? Think what a nice thing it would be." But her father would not listen to her.

Yours for Socialism,  
Bina Flynn,  
10 years old.

P. S.—Probably this little girl's father gets \$10 or \$12 a week.—B. F.

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